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ABSTRACT

A hearing before the House Committee on Education and Labor was held regarding the American Council on Education's 1988 report, "One-Third of a Nation: A Report of the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life." The report was made part of the official record of the committee and is reproduced in the committee's report. Statements by the following persons are also provided: Frank Rhodes, president, Cornell University; Robert H. Atwell, president, American Council on Education; Wilma Mankiller, chief, Cherokee Nation; and Dorothy Height, executive director, National Conference of Negro Women. Prepared statements by Wilma Mankiller and the Hon. Bill Richardson are also provided. (KM)

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REPORT ON MINORITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, SEPTEMBER 13, 1988

Serial No. 100-92

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor

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REPORT ON MINORITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1988

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:05 a.m., in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins [chairman of the committee] presiding.

Members present: Representatives Hawkins, Kildee, Williams, Penny, Petri, and Ballenger.

Staff present: John F. Jennings, counsel; Ricardo Martinez, legislative analyst; Rick Jerue, staff director, Postsecondary Education Subcommittee; Michael Lance, minority legislative assistant; and Larry Zaglaniczny, minority senior legislative associate.

Chairman HAWKINS. The Education and Labor Committee is called to order.

The hearing this morning is to hear from and deal with a report of the American Council on Education. Some time ago, this report was released, and the chairman of the committee felt that it was of such importance and value to the committee that it should be made an official report of the record of the committee.

A report made by the Committee for Economic Development which, as you know, is a very broad based business group, said this:

> This Nation cannot continue to compete and prosper in the global arena when more than one-fifth of our children live in poverty and a third grow up in ignorance, and if the Nation cannot compete it cannot lead. If we continue to squander the talents of millions of our children, America will become a nation of limited human potential. It would be tragic if we allow this to happen. America must become a land of opportunity for every child.

I think that, in a sense, this is a tribute to the American Council on Education, which has not only stated its views but has lived up to those views and has submitted some excellent recommendations.

I notice that the witnesses have been seated at the table. May I briefly refer to them by name and their relationship to the report: Dr. Frank Rhodes, president, Cornell University; Dr. Robert Atwell, president, American Council on Education; Dr. Wilma Mankiller, chief, Cherokee Nation; and Ms. Dorothy Height, executive director of the National Council of Negro Women.

May I at this time yield to any of my colleagues who would like to make a statement before hearing from the witnesses.

Mr. Williams.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, just to say that my subcommittee and I are looking forward to receiving this report to examine both the document before us and the background material in great detail and to work with those who helped on this report to determine how we can close out this decade by making an aggressive assault on the problems that are exposed in this report. I want to give the Post-secondary Subcommittee's thanks to those who prepared this important document.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you, Mr. Williams.

[The report follows:]

ONE-THIRD OF A NATION

A Report of
THE COMMISSION ON MINORITY PARTICIPATION
IN EDUCATION AND AMERICAN LIFE

May 1988

American Council on Education • Education Commission of the States

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FOREWORD

This report marks a special point in the history of the American Council on Education. Along with the Education Commission of the States, we have chosen to challenge the nation to join us in raising the full participation of minority citizens in American life to the top of our public and private agendas.

The ACE Board does not enter into this challenge lightly. We do so with the realization that we who lead the colleges and universities of this nation have much to do. We know that the task before us may consume much of the remainder of our professional lives, and that we will succeed only if our commitment is unreserved.

To carry out our own part of this challenge to the nation, ACE has created an Office of Special Minority Initiatives, and has committed substantial resources to ensure ongoing activities.

"One-Third of a Nation" represents a significant starting point. This summer, ACE will hold a conference open to institutions that wish to begin planning strategies to increase the recruitment and retention of minority students, faculty, and administrators. In the fall, we will issue a handbook to guide individual institutions in their efforts to enhance these activities.

It is in a spirit of hope and renewal that we issue this report to the American people. Let us all, individually and collectively, strengthen our nation through commitment to the full participation of all of our citizens.

Robert H. Atwell
President
American Council on Education

FOREWORD

We have made enormous progress over the last 30 years in dismantling barriers to the full participation of minorities in American life. But we have a long way to go before we can say that the American dream is everyone's dream.

We have underestimated the depth and complexity of the situation as well as the need for sustained institutional and governmental commitment. We also have found that some of the more difficult barriers to full participation by minority young people are not so obvious. An unacceptably large number conclude at an early age that education is not for them. Even among those who make it into four-year colleges and universities, attrition rates are unacceptably high. This calls for a new understanding and a more creative approach to the barriers to success faced by minority youth from kindergarten through graduate school.

The Education Commission of the States has identified this issue as a national priority. I believe states can play a major role in renewing the nation's commitment to access and success for minority students. State leaders can shape the vision necessary for institutions and communities to act, to see that a third of our talent, a third of our promise, does not go to waste. States can hold institutions accountable for developing the talents—all the talents—of their people. State leaders can fashion coherent, multifaceted approaches to the problems of minority attrition from the education ranks.

We need, as a nation, to harness the energy and imagination of the people who continue to make ours the world's leading system of higher education. If we can do this, we will open the doors of the American dream to all our citizens.

Frank Newman
President
Education Commission of the States

PREFACE

In the spring of 1987, the leaders of the American Council on Education and the Education Commission of the States came together in deep concern that the nation's progress in minority advancement had waned significantly in recent years. Most particularly, we were disturbed by the discouraging trends in the education of minority citizens and the implications of these trends for the future of the nation.

At my suggestion, ACE and ECS formed the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, and asked former Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter to serve as honorary co-chairs. Thirty-seven prominent Americans agreed to serve as members. This broadly bipartisan group includes former high-ranking federal officials and leaders of business and industry, minority organizations, higher education, and state and local government.

After extensive examination of demographic and economic data, review of the relevant research in the field, and consultation with numerous experts, the Commission reached a disturbing conclusion: America is moving backward—not forward—in its efforts to achieve the full participation of minority citizens in the life and prosperity of the nation.

We applaud the progress that has been made in many areas. But in education, employment, income, health, longevity, and other basic measures of individual and social well-being, gaps persist—and in some cases are widening—between members of minority groups and the majority population.

If we allow these disparities to continue, the United States inevitably will suffer a compromised quality of life and a lower standard of living. Social conflict will intensify. Our ability to compete in world markets will decline, our domestic economy will falter, our national security will be endangered. In brief, we will find ourselves unable to fulfill the promise of the American dream.

We deeply believe that now is the time for our nation to renew its commitment to minority advancement. We must redouble our efforts

to expand the role and status of our minority population. All segments of society—public officials and private citizens; government, business, and non-profit institutions; moderates, conservatives, and liberals—must commit themselves to overcoming the current inertia and removing, once and for all, the remaining barriers to full participation by minority citizens in education and all other aspects of American life.

We bring this statement to the American people with a specific intent. Our goal as a nation must be nothing less than to eliminate, as soon as possible, the gaps that mark our racial and ethnic minority population as disadvantaged. We should seek over the next two decades to surpass the impressive progress we have made over the past 25 years—and to permit ourselves no backsliding. Our hope is that in 20 years, an examination of key social and economic indicators will reveal that America's minority population has attained a quality of life as high as that of the white majority.

Frank H. T. Rhodes
President
Cornell University
Chair
Commission on Minority
Participation in Education
and American Life

SUMMARY

The Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life was established last fall by the American Council on Education and the Education Commission of the States. The impetus for its formation, and for our involvement, was a shared deep concern over the faltering pace of minority advancement.

Evidence to support this concern is to be found everywhere in our society—in our schools, on our college campuses, on the street corners of our cities. The statistics by which we measure our social and economic health and well-being clearly indicate that progress has virtually halted, and in many areas we have lost ground.

In any time, the failure of our society to integrate key segments of its population should be of major concern. It is especially worrisome now, as we look toward the 21st century. Shortly after that milestone, one-third of Americans will be members of minority groups.

In the months since its formation, this Commission has examined available demographic data and key economic indicators, reviewed relevant research, consulted experts, conducted discussions among ourselves, read numerous articles and commentaries on these concerns, and continued to make our own observations about the seriousness of these issues.

We have concluded that now is the time for our nation to renew its commitment to minority advancement. We must redouble our efforts to expand the role and status of our minority population—men and women, boys and girls. All Americans—as individuals and as members of various groups, social organizations, and sectors of our society—bear this responsibility, and all must share in the task.

We offer this statement by way of rededicating ourselves to past principles that have brought progress and to challenge ourselves and the nation to discover new ways to achieve full, equitable participation of minority citizens in American life.

INTRODUCTION

America is moving backward—not forward—in its efforts to achieve the full participation of minority citizens in the life and prosperity of the nation.

If we allow these disparities to continue, the United States inevitably will suffer a compromised quality of life and a lower standard of living.

In education, employment, income, health, longevity, and other basic measures of individual and social well-being, gaps persist—and in some cases are widening—between members of minority groups and the majority population.

If we allow these disparities to continue, the United States inevitably will suffer a compromised quality of life and a lower standard of living. Social conflict will intensify. Our ability to compete in world markets will decline, our domestic economy will falter, our national security will be endangered. In brief, we will find ourselves unable to fulfill the promise of the American dream.

As a nation, we must attack this problem **now**, with new energy and in new ways. The progress of the past cannot be cause for complacency about the future.

The goal we suggest is simple but essential: That in 20 years, a similar examination will reveal that America's minority population has attained a quality of life as high as that of the white majority. No less a goal is acceptable. For if we fail, all Americans—not just minorities—will be the victims. But if we succeed, all Americans will reap the benefits.

TOMORROW'S "ONE-THIRD OF A NATION"

More than 50 years ago, President Franklin D. Roosevelt surveyed the plight of Americans caught in the grip of the Great Depression and declared: "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished."[1]

In 1988 we are seeing the emergence of another "one-third of a nation"—the blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asian Americans who constitute our minority population.

The United States is far different now. Increasing national prosperity, progress in securing civil rights, action by business, labor, educational institutions, and other organizations, and the creation of numerous state and federal social programs have enabled millions of previously disadvantaged citizens to move into the mainstream of American life.

Still, a great number of people have not shared in this progress. In fact, the most recent government figures show that in 1986, 13.6 percent of Americans were officially counted as poor—a significant increase from the low of 11.4 percent in 1978.[2]

In 1988 we are seeing the emergence of another "one-third of a nation"—the blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asian Americans who constitute our minority population—many of whom are afflicted by the ills of poverty and deprivation. The visibility of these groups in the American tapestry is growing rapidly.

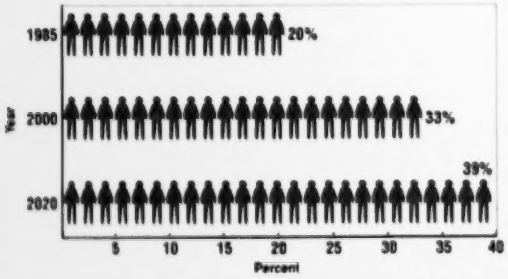
- Today, 14 percent of all adults in the United States—and 20 percent of children under 17—are members of these groups.[3] By the year 2000, one-third of all school-age children will fall into this category.[4]
- Already, in 25 of our largest cities and metropolitan areas, half or more than half of the public school students come from minority groups.[5] By the year 2000, almost 42 percent of all public school students will be minority children or other children in poverty.[6]

- Between 1985 and 2000, minority workers will make up one-third of the net additions to the U.S. labor force. By the turn of the century, 21.8 million of the 140.4 million people in the labor force will be non-white.[7]

Those figures are testimony to the nation's increasing diversity—cultural as well as demographic. At the same time, they confront us with a distinct challenge, for these same groups suffer disproportionately from unemployment, inadequate education, ill health, and other social and economic handicaps.

It should be noted that levels of educational attainment and income for Asian Americans are comparable to those for whites, and sometimes exceed them. In fact, the experiences of this group may offer valuable lessons as the nation seeks ways to promote minority advancement. Nevertheless, some segments of the Asian American population experience problems similar to those of other minority groups. This report concentrates on blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians. Together they comprise over 90 percent of the minority population, their impact on the total society is thereby greater, and data on them are more readily available.

Figure 1: Projected minority school-age population



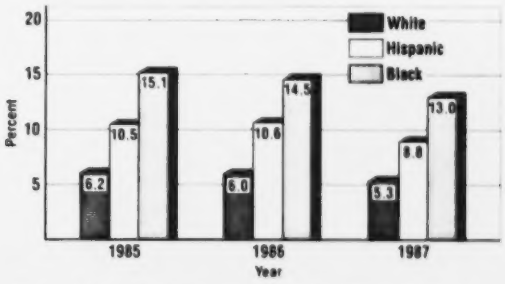
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 1022 (Washington, D.C., March 1988), Table 1, 12 and No. 995 (November 1986), Table E, 14.

Although the broad indicators mask a wide range of educational attainment and affluence within the minority population, the average disparities are alarming:

- In 1986, 31.1 percent of blacks and 27.3 percent of Hispanics had incomes below the poverty level—nearly three times the rate for whites.[8] Median black family income was only 57 percent that of whites, $17,604 as opposed to $30,809. Median Hispanic family income was $19,995.[9]
- The unemployment rate for blacks in 1986 was 14.5 percent—more than twice the rate of 6.0 percent for whites. Among Hispanics, 10.6 percent were unemployed. In 1987, black unemployment declined to 13.0 percent and Hispanic unemployment to 8.8 percent—but the rate for whites fell to 5.3 percent.[10] As of April 1988, unemployment for whites had dropped to 4.6 percent, while the rate for blacks stood at 12.2 percent and for Hispanics at 9.3 percent.[11]
- Minority group members are far less likely to have a college education. In 1986, 20.1 percent of whites over 25 had completed four years of college or more. The rate for blacks was 10.9 percent, and for Hispanics only 8.4 percent.[12]

In 1986, 31.1 percent of blacks and 27.3 percent of Hispanics had incomes below the poverty level—nearly three times the rate for whites.

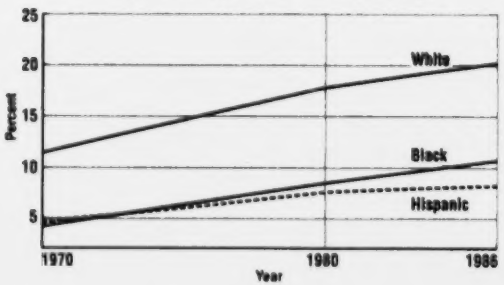
Figure 2: Unemployment rates, by race and Hispanic origin



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Current Labor Statistics: Employment Data," *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington, D.C., September 1987), Table 1.6, 91-92.

- As of 1986, black life expectancy at birth was 71.4 years—exactly four years less than that for whites.[13]
- In 1985, the mortality rate among the youngest black infants (under 28 days) rose nationally for the first time in 20 years. By itself our black infant mortality rate would rank the U.S. 28th in the world in keeping babies alive in the first year of life.[14]
- The immunization status of non-white infants has grown substantially worse in recent years. The proportion not fully immunized against polio rose by 55 percent between 1980 and 1985. The percentage not fully immunized against diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus (DPT) increased by 68 percent. In the same period, rates of immunization against various diseases among white infants either improved or worsened only slightly.[15]
- Of the 1.05 million high school seniors who took the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) in 1985, just over 70,000 (9 percent) were black and few more than 17,000 (3 percent) were Hispanic. Furthermore, of the black students, 73 percent scored below 400 on the verbal section and 64 percent scored below 400 on the math portion. Of the Hispanic

Figure 3: Percent of persons 25 years old and over completing four or more years of college, by race and Hispanic origin



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1988* (Washington, D.C.: 1987), Table 202 125.

students, 59 percent had verbal scores below 400 and 45 percent had math scores below that level. For whites, only 31 percent had verbal scores below 400 and only 22 percent had math scores that low.[16]

Rapid progress in eliminating these disparities may prove more difficult for the disadvantaged among the new one-third of a nation than for many of whom President Roosevelt spoke. Minority Americans are burdened not by a sudden, universal, yet temporary economic calamity, but by a long history of oppression and discrimination. They remain largely segregated in minority neighborhoods and minority schools. For many, full participation in the dominant culture imposes a painful choice: to dilute or abandon a rich and distinctive heritage. Above all, they are marked by the color of their skin as different, and therefore more vulnerable.

Minority Americans are burdened not by a sudden, universal, yet temporary economic calamity, but by a long history of oppression and discrimination.

Yet, minority citizens are not separate. They are, in a real sense, the new America. In a few years they will comprise one-third of the nation's children; soon afterward they will be one-third of the nation's adults.

They are not other; they are us. How well and under what conditions minority groups are integrated into American life—and the extent to which they participate in and contribute to our educational system and the economy—will determine the continuing strength and vitality of the nation as a whole.

PAST PROGRESS

The United States has made significant progress toward the goal of full participation for minority citizens. Yet, too often this fact goes unacknowledged. Advocates for disadvantaged groups, understandably eager to focus the attention of their fellow citizens on unfinished business, often ignore or minimize the very markers of improvement that might inspire new energy for their cause. Those who question the efficacy of government programs or court mandates also have been eager to cite examples of regression, and to render verdicts of failure.

The progress is there—on the record, revealed in census figures and the lives of real people. We must recognize and underscore that progress.

This unwitting alliance has had at least one unhappy result: because so many successes have gone unnoticed and unremarked, a sense of weariness and discouragement has come to characterize the national debate over the pace and process of minority advancement.

Yet the progress is there—on the record, revealed in census figures and the lives of real people. We must recognize and underscore that progress. It is impressive proof of what we can achieve together—and of what disadvantaged citizens can achieve for themselves. It is a tribute to the perseverance and frequent heroism of minority citizens in demanding their rights. And it is a tribute to the capacity of our democratic system to respond and change.

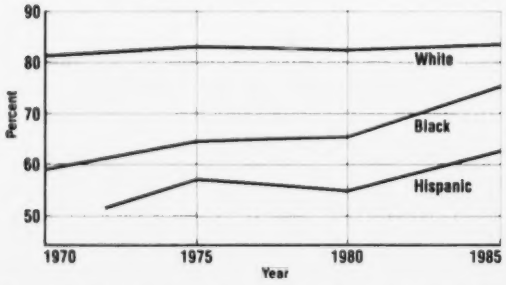
Consider these facts:

- In the tumultuous 1960s, while the median income of white families rose by 34 percent after inflation, black family incomes increased by 48 percent. The recession of the early 1970s slowed growth for all groups, but even in this period, black median family income tracked closely with that of whites. Income for both groups rose by less than one percent between 1970 and 1975.[17]
- Education programs like Head Start and Chapter I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act led to real progress for poor and minority students in educational achievement. For example, Chapter I students have gained

seven to 12 months in reading and 11 to 12 months in math for every year they have participated in the program, resulting in significant advancement for millions of young people.[18]

- Between 1977 and 1987, average scores for black students taking the SAT increased by 21 points on the verbal portion and 20 points in math. In contrast, scores for white students rose just one point on the verbal test and remained the same for math.[19]
- High school graduation rates for most minority students have improved dramatically. In 1970, only 60 percent of blacks between the ages of 18 and 24 had graduated from high school. By 1975, this figure had risen to 65 percent, and by 1985 it was 76 percent. For Hispanics, the high school graduation rate in 1975 was 56 percent; a decade later, the figure was 63 percent.[20]
- College attendance and graduation by minority students increased significantly, due in large measure to the availability of federal aid. Between 1971 and 1981, total college minority enrollment jumped by 56 percent.[21] Enrollment

Figure 4: Percent of persons 14-to-24 years old graduating from high school, by race and Hispanic origin.



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 404 (Washington, D.C., November 1985), Table B-4, and No. 409 (September 1986), Table 6-9; also, "School Enrollment—Social and Economic Characteristics of Students, October 1986," forthcoming report.

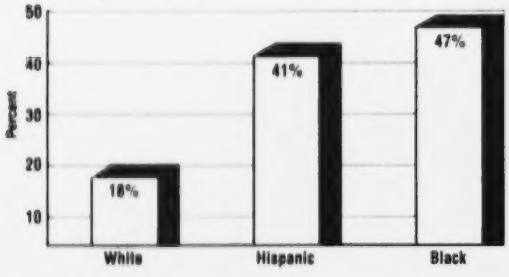
growth in community colleges and adult education programs was especially heavy.

- In the 15 years after Medicaid began, black infant mortality dropped 49 percent, more than nine times the rate of improvement during the preceding 15 years.[22]

These gains did not erase earlier disparities. Most groups made progress in this period. With respect to high school graduation, for example, the rate for whites increased marginally between 1975 and 1985, from 83 percent to 84 percent.[23] But the remaining gap should not keep us from acknowledging that the improved educational performance of blacks and Hispanics represents a major social achievement.

Celebrating progress should not engender complacency. Nor do we want to paint a false picture. Successive waves of inflation and recession in the 1970s and early 1980s, accompanied by dramatic changes in our economic structure, eroded much of the improvement cited above, and the sustained growth of recent years has not made up the difference. Also, such averages must not obscure the fact that young people bear the greatest burden of deprivation. In 1985, 23 percent of all American preschool children were members of families with

Figure 5: Percentage of children in poverty in 1985, by race and Hispanic origin



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 158 (Washington, D.C.: October 1987), Table 7: 35.

We believe it is useful to underscore the advances made by minority groups in the past 25 years. The formula for progress is no mystery.

incomes below the poverty level. For black children, the figure was 47 percent, for Hispanics 41 percent, and for whites, 18 percent.[24]

Nonetheless, we believe it is useful—indeed essential—to underscore the advances made by minority groups in the past 25 years, and the conditions under which they were achieved. The formula for progress is no mystery. It consists of four elements:

- Economic growth with low inflation;
- A political consensus favoring minority advancement;
- Adequately funded, well-administered programs at every level of government and in the private sector targeted at disadvantaged citizens; and
- The determination of minority group members to help themselves.

LOST GROUND

In the last 10 years, not only have we lost the momentum of earlier minority progress, we have suffered actual reversals.

The lesson that progress is possible, given the right economic conditions and a strong national commitment, is especially relevant now. In the last 10 years, not only have we lost the momentum of earlier minority progress, we have suffered actual reversals in the drive to achieve full equality for minority citizens.

In higher education, for example, the picture of stalled progress is dramatically clear. **During the same period when the pool of minority high school graduates was becoming bigger and better than ever, minority college attendance rates initially fell, and have remained disproportionately low.**

These figures illustrate the dimensions of the problem:

- Between 1970 and 1975, the percentage of black high school graduates 24 years old or younger who were enrolled in or had completed one or more years of college rose from 39 percent to 48 percent; over the same period, the corresponding rate for whites remained steady at 53 percent. However, between 1975 and 1985, while the college participation rate for white youths climbed to 55 percent, the rate for blacks dropped to 44 percent.[25] Recently released figures indicate that in 1986, the rate for blacks rose to 47 percent— still slightly below 1975.[26]

- The rate of college attendance for Hispanic youths remained stagnant between 1975 and 1985. Available evidence indicates a slight decline, from 51 percent to 47 percent.[27]

- For American Indians, high school graduation and college attendance rates remain the lowest for any minority group. A report by the Cherokee Nation found that only 55 percent of American Indians graduate from high school, and of these only 17 percent go on to college.[28]

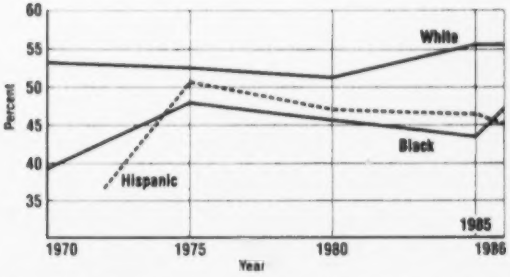
Minority students continue to complete their undergraduate degrees at rates far lower than their white counterparts.

These figures become even more disturbing when we look beyond college enrollment to college graduation. Minority students continue to complete their undergraduate degrees at rates far lower than their white counterparts. Also, a much smaller percentage go on to graduate and professional schools.

For example, although blacks made up 9 percent of all undergraduate students in 1984–85, they received 8 percent of the associates' degrees and 6 percent of the baccalaureate degrees conferred that year. Hispanics made up 4 percent of enrollees, but received only 3 percent of the baccalaureate degrees. Hispanics did better at the community college level, receiving 4.5 percent of the associates' degrees. By contrast, 80 percent of the undergraduate students in 1984–85 were white—but they received 85 percent of the baccalaureate degrees.[29]

At the graduate level, the falloff for blacks is dramatic. Between 1976 and 1985, the number of blacks earning master's degrees declined by 32 percent. Although Hispanics and American Indians registered slight increases, their share of

Figure 6: Percent of persons 24 years old and younger enrolled or who have completed one or more years of college, by race and Hispanic origin



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 404 (Washington, D.C., November 1985), Table B-4, and No. 409 (September 1986), Table 6-9; also, "School Enrollment—Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1986," forthcoming report.

master's degrees remains disproportionately low—2.4 percent and 0.4 percent.[30]

The number of blacks earning doctorates dropped by 5 percent in the same period; for black men it declined 27 percent. The number earned by Hispanics and American Indians increased significantly, from 396 to 677 for Hispanics and from 93 to 119 for American Indians, but at the doctoral level, too, their share is low—2.1 percent and 0.4 percent.[31]

*. . . **fewer minority students are preparing for teaching careers. This suggests that in the future, not only minority students but all students will see fewer minority teachers over the course of their schooling.***

In certain critical fields of study, the minority presence is nearly non-existent. For example, in computer science, only one black received a doctorate out of 355 awarded in 1986. In mathematics, blacks received only six of the 730 doctorates awarded in that year.[32]

Current statistics also indicate that fewer minority students are preparing for teaching careers. In the nation's historically black colleges and universities, which traditionally have produced more than half the black teachers, the percentage of first-year students intending to major in education dropped from 13.4 in 1977 to 8.7 in 1986.[33] This suggests that in the future, not only minority students but **all** students will see fewer minority teachers over the course of their schooling. Such an outcome is a particular problem for minority students, for whom such teachers serve as important role models. But it also is a loss for majority students, who otherwise only rarely may be exposed directly to minority citizens in professional roles.

We stress these trends in higher education because of its special importance in the life of our country. For more than a generation, a college education has been a key part of the American dream—and, for many individuals and families, a good measurement of progress toward its fulfillment. Statistics on incomes and living standards support the belief that college is the passport to greater opportunity and achievement.

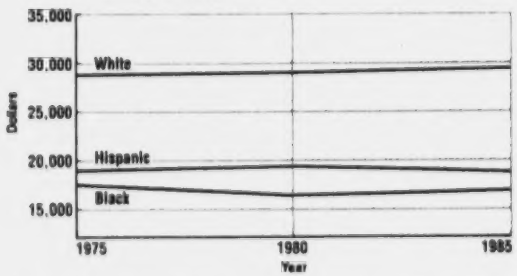
Participation in higher education also is an important barometer of well-being for the nation as a whole. We rely on our colleges and universities to impart to young people—and in-

Currently, we lose disproportionate numbers of minority students at each level of schooling, culminating in low participation rates in higher education.

creasingly to older students as well—the knowledge and skills that will prepare them for leadership in business, the professions, and government. A decline in educational attainment by any substantial population group is cause for deep concern—especially at a time when technological advances and global competition put a premium on trained intelligence, advanced skills, and a high degree of adaptability.

The aptitude for higher education and the ability to succeed in college and graduate school do not materialize suddenly at age 18; they are developed in childhood. Currently, we lose disproportionate numbers of minority students at each level of schooling, culminating in low participation rates in higher education. Only through intense, coordinated efforts at every stage—beginning with adequate prenatal care, improved nutrition, and quality child care and extending through programs to increase minority retention and improve student performance at the elementary and secondary levels—can we hope to reverse these dismal trends. Too few children benefit from such efforts. Although preschool programs increase school success and reduce later expenditures for special and compensatory education, fewer than one in five eligible children is enrolled in Head Start. The Chapter 1 Compensatory Educa-

Figure 7: Median family income in constant 1985 dollars, by race and Hispanic origin



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1987* (Washington, D.C., 1986), Table 732: 436.

tion program, which reduces the probability that a child will have to repeat a grade, now serves only half of those who need its services.

Beyond those for higher education, other statistics also suggest a reversal of progress toward full minority participation in American life—statistics that should be a cause for concern to all citizens, and a spur to national action.

Statistics tracking family incomes, for example, reveal a disturbing widening of the gap between living standards for minorities and whites:

Will we rekindle our commitment to eliminating those disparities, a commitment that in the past often bore remarkable fruit?

- After rising from 54 percent of the white median in the 1950s to 61.5 percent in 1975, black median family income fell to 57.5 percent of the white median in 1985.
- In the same ten-year period, Hispanic families also fell back slightly. In 1975 their income was only 66.9 percent of the median for whites; in 1985, the figure was 65.2 percent.[34]
- Between 1973 and 1986, average real annual earnings for black males ages 20 to 24 fell by 50 percent, from $9,818 to $5,299 in 1985 dollars.[35]

With progress in key areas having come to a halt or even moving into reverse, the American people are at a critical point of decision: Will we rekindle our commitment to eliminating those disparities, a commitment that in the past often bore remarkable fruit? Or are we resigned to a long-term retreat, in which the gaps between minorities and the majority will widen and continuing inequality will be tolerated?

THE PRICE OF NEGLECT

Social analysts have offered widely divergent reasons for our loss of momentum in the drive for minority participation. Similarly, how best to remedy historic inequalities is subject to strong disagreement. However, one thing remains clear: Left uncorrected, the current trend signals continuing social tension, and is an omen of future national decline.

"Progress in education won't solve all our problems. But without progress in education, we can't solve any of our problems."

For minority citizens, the dangers inherent in this situation are obvious. Continuation or worsening of present levels of poverty, educational attainment, ill-health, unemployment and underemployment, infant mortality, early childhood neglect, crime, and other social problems would be calamitous.

For the nation, such a development would mean disaster. The collective educational deficit suffered by minorities poses a particular threat, reminiscent of previous challenges in American history. As stated in the National Defense Education Act of 1958, passed on the initiative of President Dwight D. Eisenhower partially in response to the successful Soviet launch of Sputnik I, "The security of the nation requires the fullest development of the mental resources and technical skills of its young men and women. . . . We must increase our efforts to identify and educate more of the talent of our nation."[36]

Not only national security but other challenges demand improved educational performance. President Lyndon B. Johnson noted that "Progress in education won't solve all our problems. But without progress in education, we can't solve any of our problems."[37]

For members of minority groups, education is the key to advancement on other measures—notably employment and income. In a society and economy that value higher order skills so greatly, lack of education ordinarily dooms minorities—as it dooms so many others—to a life of deprivation.

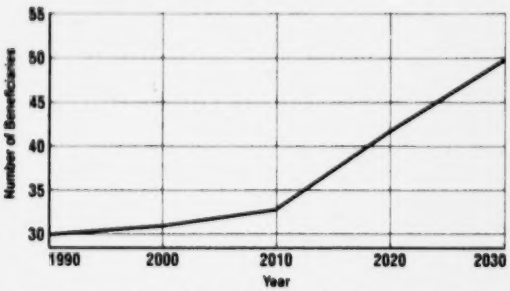
But inadequate minority education has far broader implications. Consider just one issue: Social Security. Early in the next century, when the members of America's baby boom

In a society and economy that value higher order skills so greatly, lack of education ordinarily dooms minorities—as it dooms so many others—to a life of deprivation.

generation begin to retire, relatively fewer active workers will be called on to support far greater numbers of retirees. In 1987, for every 100 workers contributing to Social Security, 30 individuals were drawing benefits. By the year 2030, there will be about 50 beneficiaries per 100 workers.[38] As indicated earlier, the work force of that time will include a much higher percentage of minority workers than does today's. Americans of every background, then, have a stake in the competence, employability, and earning power of those future minority workers if we hope to provide for the income support and health care needs of an aging population.

The harmony and unity of our society also depend on our ability to regain the ground we have lost and renew our momentum on minority progress. Twenty years ago the Kerner Commission, in the wake of widespread riots in America's urban ghettos, raised the stark prospect of a nation "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."[39] The challenge issued by the commission was straightforward: to end racism and eliminate the economic and social disparities that victimize minority citizens.

Figure 8: Projected number of Social Security beneficiaries per 100 covered workers



Source: *1988 Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance and Disability Insurance Trust Funds* (Washington, D.C.: May 1988), Table 30: 80.

Today we face the same challenge. As *The Kerner Report Updated* proclaimed recently, "We must bring the problems of race, unemployment, and poverty back into the public consciousness, put them back on the public agenda."[40] These problems also belong on the private agenda of each and every American. The existence of a permanent underclass, made up primarily of members of minority groups, is inconsistent with our national ideals. It is a threat to our democratic system, which can succeed only by extending to every citizen an opportunity to share in the nation's life and prosperity.

The credibility of democracy as a vehicle for advancing the hopes and dreams of millions of people in less developed nations depends on our performance.

The future of the United States in the global arena is at stake as well. The growing presence of minorities in the nation's work force and the contributions they make will affect not only our domestic economy but also our international competitiveness. However, more than economic standing is in question; the credibility of democracy as a vehicle for advancing the hopes and dreams of millions of people in less developed nations depends on our performance.

For generations, part of the allure of our system has been its ability to create an ever-rising standard of living for the many as well as the few. The appeal of what we call the American way of life has resided not only in the promise of our free political institutions to "secure the blessings of liberty," but also in the capacity of our free market economy to "promote the general welfare."

Today, a growing majority of the world's people themselves are Asian, Latin, and black. They are subject to competing claims about which system best produces material plenty, social justice, and freedom—that of the Western democracies, or that of the Eastern socialist bloc. We Americans know and argue, from our own experience and that of our democratic allies, that our model holds the greatest promise for these emerging peoples; that we march under the banner of true social justice. However, the credibility of our claim depends in large part on our ability to demonstrate that our system provides full equality and full participation to all our citizens, including those of color.

A NATIONAL GOAL —AND A NATIONAL COMMITMENT

Now is the time to end the dangerous drift and complacency that have caused us to default on America's promise to help **all** its citizens attain equality of opportunity. All segments of our society—public officials and private citizens; government, business, and non-profit institutions; moderates, conservatives, and liberals—must commit themselves to overcoming the current inertia and removing, once and for all, the remaining barriers to full participation by the emerging one-third of the nation—minority citizens—in education and all other aspects of American life.

Our goal as a nation must be nothing less than to eliminate, as soon as possible, the gaps that mark our racial and ethnic minority population as disadvantaged.

Our goal as a nation must be nothing less than to eliminate, as soon as possible, the gaps that mark our racial and ethnic minority population as disadvantaged, and by so doing to enable them to enjoy a quality of life as high as that of the white majority. As a specific objective, we should seek over the next two decades to surpass the progress of the past 25 years—and to permit ourselves no backsliding. This means putting in place **now** the programs and interventions—and promoting the personal values and standards—required for ultimate success. Delay will guarantee failure. The minority teachers, leaders, scientists, and professionals our society will need in 20 years are beginning their schooling now.

The United States has a proud history of investing in the elements of progress—in infrastructure, in science and technology, in people. Eliminating the disparities between the lives and prospects of minority young people and those of their white counterparts is an essential investment in our future national well-being.

Our hope is that in 20 years, an examination of the statistics indicating educational access and achievement, employment and income, life expectancy, and other measures of social well-being, such as we have presented here, will reveal no disadvantage for minorities in comparison with other groups in the population.

We recognize the difficulties of this task, and the many obstacles to its completion. But America needs all the talent it can get. And we know that the American people, their government, and their institutions—and most important, minority citizens themselves—are capable of great accomplishments. The effort to achieve full participation of minority citizens in American life can engender excitement as well as difficulty. Therefore we believe that our fellow citizens will recognize its urgency and work toward its attainment.

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STRATEGIES FOR PROGRESS

We can identify a set of seven core strategies that, if followed, will lay the groundwork for success. Changes in attitudes as well as in policies and programs will be required.

It is not enough merely to set a goal for society or issue a challenge. Achieving substantial parity between minority and majority citizens in education, employment, income, and other important indicators of personal and social well-being will require specific actions by institutions throughout the public and private sectors of our nation. It is vitally important that individual Americans determine what they can do to help reach this objective. But to a great extent, progress will depend on the initiatives taken by government, business, educational institutions, voluntary organizations, and, most of all, minority citizens themselves.

It is within neither the charge nor the competence of this Commission to itemize the exact programs and policies that should be implemented by each institution in each sector. However, we can identify a set of seven core strategies that, if followed, will lay the groundwork for success. These strategies—stated as challenges—are outlined below.

While adoption of these strategies is an essential condition for progress, carrying them out will not be easy. Changes in attitudes as well as in policies and programs will be required. Nonetheless, we maintain that a commitment to these strategies will put America back on the track to full equality of opportunity for all its citizens.

1. We challenge America's institutions of higher learning to renew and strengthen their efforts to increase minority recruitment, retention, and graduation.

America's colleges, universities, and professional schools can be proud of the role they have played in the progress described earlier in this report. But for our society to surmount the challenges it faces, institutions of higher learning must greatly expand their efforts to increase significantly the number and proportion of minority graduates.

To begin implementing this strategy, each higher education institution should make a commitment to:

- recruit minority students more aggressively at every level—community colleges, adult education programs, four-year institutions, and graduate programs;
- create an academic atmosphere that nourishes minority students and encourages them to succeed;
- create a campus culture that values the diversity minorities bring to institutional life—one that responds powerfully and forthrightly to the incidents of racism that have occurred too often on campuses in recent years;
- place special emphasis on inspiring and recruiting minority candidates for faculty and administrative positions; and
- work with educators at the primary and secondary levels to improve the education, training, and preparation of minority students.

The higher education community historically has acted as an important goad to the nation's conscience.

We focus first on colleges and universities for several reasons. First, they are the principal institutions in which America's future professionals, leaders, and role models will be educated and shaped. Second, the higher education community historically has acted as an important goad to the nation's conscience, calling the citizenry to higher standards of intellectual achievement and social justice. Finally, these institutions have functioned as a vital social laboratory in which solutions to knotty national problems have been tested and perfected. We call on higher education to continue this role—and to expand it.

2. We challenge national leaders to identify and implement policies to stimulate economic growth and restore national solvency.

As noted earlier, steady economic growth coupled with low inflation can contribute significantly to minority progress. Of course, a growing economy by itself will not ensure equality of opportunity and full participation for minority citizens; without strong political leadership and a national consensus, such progress is impossible.

Economic growth is vital for two reasons: First, by increasing national wealth it provides the wherewithal for adequate so-

Economic growth is a highly effective social program in itself; it creates jobs, rising wages, and expanding opportunities.

cial programs—for example, student grants and guaranteed loans. Second, and more important, economic growth is a highly effective social program in itself; it creates the jobs, rising wages, and expanding opportunities that enable greater numbers of people to meet their own needs and master their own destinies.

The experience of the 1980s suggests, however, that to be fully effective, economic growth must be accompanied by yet another condition: national solvency. The unprecedented federal deficits of the past seven years—fueled by large tax cuts and simultaneous increases in defense spending and entitlement programs—have generated heavy pressure for reductions in spending on some social programs and limits on the growth of others.

These changes have had a disproportionate impact on minority citizens. For example, the downward trend in college enrollment by minority students is, in our judgment, in part attributable to reductions in federal student grants and a change in the loan-grant mix of aid. The shift to much heavier reliance on loans confronts hard-pressed minority families with a discouraging set of choices: either incur heavy debt to send their children to college, or forgo higher education altogether. Too many have opted for the latter.

The bipartisan budget summit between the President and Congress last year was an important step toward restoring national solvency. Further steps are needed. The election of a new President this November, the seating of a new administration and a new Congress in January, and the scheduled report by the National Economic Commission next March provide a unique opportunity for the nation's leaders to identify—and implement—policies that will reduce our federal budget deficit and international trade deficit and stimulate economic growth.

We believe that additional federal investment in the nation's children and youth—especially its disadvantaged minority youth—must be a basic component of the package. The revenues needed to finance this investment while still reducing the

deficit should be generated through economic growth and balanced, fair taxation.

As part of any such plan, the mix of federal spending on student assistance should be changed to create additional incentives for low-income minority and white participation. We must avoid false economies. What the nation might "save" by cutting back on budgets for higher education and student aid is far less than what it will lose if it fails to invest generously in the education, training, and preparation of its citizens for the future.

The presidency remains the preeminent leadership platform in America. If the presidential trumpet gives forth an uncertain sound, who then will come to battle?

3. We challenge the nation's elected officials to lead efforts to assure minority advancement.

Willingness and participation by all segments of society is a prerequisite for minority advancement. But certain sectors bear a special responsibility. In particular, leadership by the nation's elected officials—in the White House, the Congress, and the state capitols—is indispensable.

Looking back on the greatest advances for American minorities, and the moments of liveliest action, we can see that political leaders—including those at the top—always played an important part. Their best efforts are needed again.

The role of the White House deserves special mention. The presidency remains the preeminent platform of political and moral leadership in America. So if the presidential trumpet gives forth an uncertain sound, who then will come to battle? Along with the efforts of minority citizens themselves, clear, articulate, vigorous leadership by the President of the United States has been a primary ingredient of past success. Without such leadership, Congress is unlikely to support the measures that make progress possible. Without such leadership, federal, state, and local agencies are unlikely to lend their full energies to the cause. And without such leadership, the American people are unlikely to think as deeply about the challenges they face, or act as energetically on behalf of minority advancement.

Presidential leadership can and should be reinforced by leadership from the governors and other state and local officials. An environment in the state capitols that keeps the issue of minority educational achievement at the top of the public policy agenda, supports effective institutional efforts in all sectors to promote minority participation, and uses incentives and accountability to leverage sustained efforts and commitment is a necessary condition for progress. Success over the next 20 years will depend to a great extent on state initiatives, many of which already have been enacted.

4. We challenge private and voluntary organizations to initiate new and expand existing programs designed to increase minority participation and achievement.

Continued progress will depend to a far greater extent on the actions and initiatives of non-governmental institutions.

We must continue to safeguard the legal gains made in the past by the nation's minority citizens, as well as those government programs already in place that contribute to their advancement. Because of budgetary restrictions, broad new federal initiatives in this area probably will be difficult to achieve, even apart from their importance or advisability. Continued progress, therefore, will depend to a far greater extent on the actions and initiatives of non-governmental institutions and cooperative efforts between government and the private sector.

Businesses, labor unions, churches, foundations, community organizations, civic associations—the vast network of private and voluntary institutions that compose the fabric of American society—must increase the energy and resources they devote to minority progress. Through their own job creation and training initiatives, scholarship and student assistance programs, talent searches and internships, intervention, remedial education, and enrichment activities, and other efforts, the private and voluntary sectors can have as great an impact as court decrees and congressionally mandated programs.

Many of these institutions already sponsor such activities. Where possible, their programs should be expanded, and the best of them used as models by other organizations seeking to

make their own contribution to fulfillment of the American promise. The need is great, the possibilities unlimited, and the opportunities vast for building a shared sense of achievement and satisfaction through concerted joint and individual efforts.

We must identify, encourage, train, hire, and promote more minority men and women throughout our organizational structures.

5. We challenge each major sector of our society to contribute to a new vision of affirmative action around which a broad national consensus can be formed.

Strong, dramatically effective efforts are needed at every level of society to promote the spirit and ethic of affirmative action. By that we mean applying the extra energies and resources that lead to the identification, encouragement, training, hiring, and promotion of minority men and women throughout our organizational structures. These efforts will require an increased understanding by the American people of the growing diversity of our population, and a collective determination to build our nation's future strength on this foundation. The success of such endeavors has the potential to defuse the occasionally acrimonious debate over some of the processes now used to carry out affirmative action.

Even as we call for increased efforts to assure full, equitable participation of minority men and women in American society, we recognize that affirmative action remains an essential tool for achieving our goal. We are still a long way from the day when legal means will be totally unnecessary. However, now is the time for the American people and their leaders to open a public debate that can lead to a national consensus on affirmative action.

6. We challenge minority public officials, institutions, and voluntary organizations to expand their leadership roles.

The social and economic progress described earlier in this report has benefited many minority families and individuals. A significant number have entered the secure middle class. More minority candidates have been elected to public office. And increasingly, minorities are being appointed to positions of influence and leadership in government and business.

The progress of the past 25 years also has broadened the base of minority institutions. Until recently, many such institutions labored under unfair burdens of poverty, discrimination, legal barriers, and other handicaps. However, with the ascent in status of greater numbers of minority individuals, these organizations have increased their membership, their resources, and, as a result, their power and effectiveness.

Some of these institutions have a long history, and have played a significant role within minority communities and in society at large. The nation's historically black colleges and universities, for example, have a proud record of producing teachers, doctors, religious leaders, artists, writers, and heroes of the civil rights movement—citizens whose contributions are a luminous part of America's history.

The minority community itself has the primary responsibility for supporting and developing its institutions.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Congressional Black and Hispanic Caucuses, the National Council of Negro Women, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the National Council of La Raza, ASPIRA Association, Inc., the Tribally Controlled Colleges, the National Congress of American Indians; newer, emerging groups such as the Cuban-American National Council, Inc. and the National Association for Asian Pacific American Education; regional and local minority and minority women's groups—the story of such organizations devoted to minority advancement often is overlooked in analyzing the progress of the recent past and in planning for the future.

These institutions have been a breeding ground for minority leadership—leadership that will be counted on to help inspire, motivate, and organize the nation's efforts to eliminate the gaps that separate minority citizens from their majority counterparts. That leadership must work more closely on minority issues, coordinate its activities, and target scarce resources to the most effective programs.

With the expansion of the minority middle class, leaders both within and outside the minority community increasingly are emphasizing the responsibility of those who have "made it" to

Leaders at all levels of education must recognize their interdependence and decide that attention to the total system is among their highest priorities.

help lift up those who have not. Calls for successful individuals to recognize their importance as role models and to become more directly involved in activities that help others break the shackles of poverty and ignorance mark a new phase in the civil rights movement, and should be reinforced. Other ethnic and religious groups that have entered American life have gone through the same process.

This focus on individual responsibility and quality leadership does not absolve the broader society from continuing responsibility for efforts to promote minority advancement; rather, it signals a growing acceptance of the fact that minorities are attaining their rightful place in that society, and thus are subject to increased expectations around the role they themselves will play.

Similarly, the minority community itself has the primary responsibility for supporting and developing its institutions. However, corporations, foundations, and, where appropriate, government should increase their efforts to help these organizations advance minority interests and attack the problems plaguing the minority population.

7. We challenge education leaders to improve coordination and cooperation among all levels and systems.

The importance of understanding our educational systems as interactive and interconnected seems undisputed; educators have expounded this notion with great frequency and vigor. Yet as a nation we have not developed the value orientation or the concomitant structures required to increase the level of coordination and cooperation among our systems from the preschool to graduate school levels.

It is patently obvious that we cannot increase the participation and performance of minority students in higher education without attacking the educational deficiencies that develop in their early years. Yet our system of schooling remains fragmented, characterized too often by over-specialization, territorial concerns, and competition for resources.

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Inevitably, inner city schools that fail to educate their students will influence the direction and focus of the universities in which those students enroll. The opportunity for community colleges to serve their local constituents adequately is tied inextricably to the availability of day care and preschool education.

To address these issues, leaders at all levels of education must recognize their interdependence and decide that attention to the total system is among their highest priorities. With the assistance and support of other public policy makers, they should seek to build an organizational and operational infrastructure that fosters cooperation, mutual respect, and creative interaction among educators and administrators throughout the system.

FROM ONE-THIRD TO THREE-THIRDS OF A NATION

The plain and simple fact is that the full participation of minority citizens is vital to our survival as a free and prosperous nation.

We have entitled this statement "One-Third of a Nation"—but in truth, it is an urgent message to America about three-thirds of a nation: all of us. Generosity, compassion, and a strong sense of social justice—impulses that flow outward—are essential qualities in the struggle to create a better society. Our appeal in this message, however, is also to enlightened self-interest. The plain and simple fact is that the full participation of minority citizens is vital to our survival as a free and prosperous nation. Inevitably, our fate will be shared.

Our fundamental goal is to erase the inequities that characterize the lives of minority Americans. By taking action now, we can make minority citizens **more visible physically** in every realm—in schools, in colleges and universities, in government, in the work place—and **less visible statistically,** as the conditions in which they live resemble more closely the conditions enjoyed by the majority.

Perhaps it truly can be said that no other nation on earth, at this point in history, has quite the opportunity that we do to create a fully functioning democracy where all citizens, regardless of race, ethnicity, creed, or sex, can participate completely in all aspects of national life. This dream need not be deferred any longer. Ours is the challenge; ours will be the prize.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life pays special tribute to the organizations and individuals that have given their time and energy to the development of this report. The Commission realizes that it is not easy to revisit the issues raised here. Countless hours have been spent trying to create a new vision for increasing the participation of minority citizens in American society. The final report is testimony to the difficulty of finding new things to say on this subject. It also is a tribute to the importance of investing adequate time in the building of a new commitment to an old agenda.

Our first tribute goes to the writers who produced the report: Julianne Maleveux, nationally known writer and consultant; Ervin Duggan, a former presidential speech writer and currently a political consultant; David Merkowitz, Director of Public Affairs at the American Council on Education; and various members of the ACE staff.

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NOTES

1. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Second Inaugural Address, January 20, 1937.
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Chairman HAWKINS. The committee will proceed. The first witness is Dr. Frank Rhodes, president, Cornell University.

Dr. Rhodes, we welcome you, and we look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENTS OF FRANK RHODES, PRESIDENT, CORNELL UNIVERSITY; ROBERT H. ATWELL, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION; WILMA MANKILLER, CHIEF, CHEROKEE NATION; AND DOROTHY HEIGHT, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NEGRO WOMEN

Mr. RHODES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for taking the time during this busy season to schedule this hearing on our report. I know how committed you are personally to improving the future prospects of America's minority citizens, and I know too from firsthand experience how other members of your committee share that same commitment.

Let me begin by giving you some background on this report and the Commission that prepared it. The idea for the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life developed last year out of a deep concern that our Nation's longstanding commitment to minority advancement had waned significantly in recent years. The leaders of the American Council on Education and the Education Commission of the States were particularly concerned over the disturbing trends in the education of minority citizens and the implications of those trends for the future of our Nation.

So at my suggestion, the ACE and the ECS formed this Commission, and, as you know, former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerry Ford graciously agreed to serve as honorary cochairs. Thirty-seven prominent Americans accepted our invitation to serve as members of the report, and this broadly bipartisan group included former high-ranking Federal officials and leaders of business and industry, leaders of minority organizations, higher education, and State and local government. The complete list is printed in the inside cover of the report, and I draw your attention to it. The Commission was staffed by the American Council on Education, and it was given very generous financial support by the Ford Foundation.

We spent several months examining more closely the demographic data and the economic indicators, indicators that measure the role of minority citizens in our society and the progress that they have been making over the years. We reviewed that research in the field, and we consulted with many experts, and then, as the report went through several drafts and revisions, we issued it on May 23 at a press conference at the National Press Club.

After examining all the available evidence, we reached this disturbing conclusion, that America is moving backward, not forward, in its efforts to achieve full participation of minority citizens in the life and prosperity of the Nation. Wherever you look in education, in employment, in income, in health, in longevity, and in other basic measures of individual and social well-being, the historic gaps between members of minority groups and the majority population persist, and in some cases those gaps are widening.

We called our report "One-Third Of A Nation" for two reasons: first of all, because it evokes the sense of concern and purpose expressed more than 50 years ago by President Roosevelt regarding the victims of the Great Depression and, second, because when we speak of minority Americans we are speaking of a segment of our population that is growing rapidly and soon, indeed, will constitute one-third of our Nation.

Today, 14 percent of all adults and 20 percent of all our school-age children in the United States are members of minority groups. As the first chart shows, by the year 2000 fully one-third of all schoolchildren will be minorities, and 20 years later they will be 39 percent of our school-age population.

Between 1985 and the year 2000, minority workers will make up one-third of the net additions to the labor force, and yet it is this portion of the population that continues to be afflicted disproportionately by the ills of poverty and depravation, and bringing these citizens into the mainstream of American life, we argue, is a matter of basic social justice. We also argue that it is a matter of national survival.

Since the start of the civil rights movement, America has made important and significant progress in expanding minority opportunities, and yet by many measures in recent years we have started to slide backward. This next chart, for example, shows the example of black and Hispanic high school graduates who have enrolled in college. It shows that that percentage reached a peak in 1975, and since then, while the rate of college going for white students has remained steady or even increased a little, minority enrollment has fallen off significantly, and that happened at the same time that a growing percentage of minority students were graduating from high school.

Now the most recent enrollment figures that we have shows an upturn in minority participation, certainly for blacks, in 1986, and that is good news, but it still, even then, does not compensate for the losses of the previous 10 years.

Other measures are equally disturbing. The next chart shows that while median family income for whites rose steadily in the ten years between 1975 and 1985, for both blacks and Hispanics it was actually lower at the end of that 10-year period than at the beginning.

But in terms of the future, perhaps the most unsettling indicator is what is happening to our children. They are our hope for the future, the ones who in the next century will be the foundation for our economy and the continuing strength for our democracy.

When we talk about poverty in the United States, we are really talking about children. In 1986, almost 14 percent of all Americans were officially counted as poor, and that by itself is disturbing because it represents an increase in the figure of 11.4 percent in 1978.

But as the next chart indicates, of black children, almost 47 percent were living in poverty in 1985, and for Hispanic children the figure was almost 42 percent. Somehow, without assigning blame, we want to remind the Nation that we have lost the momentum of earlier minority progress. America and all its people, we believe, are now at a critical point of decision.

The question we frame is, will we renew our efforts to eliminate these and similar disparities, or are we willing to resign ourselves to a long-term retreat in which the gaps between minorities and majorities will widen and continuing inequality will be tolerated? We believe there is only one answer that we can give as a Nation to that question. Our democracy cannot succeed if one-third of our people, characterized by the color of their skin and their ethnic identity, are essentially cut off from participation in our national life.

If we fail to address this problem adequately, we face not only continuing social injustice but also increasing social discord and disruption, and, in addition to that, a failure of that kind would endanger our national security as well as our ability to compete in the international marketplace.

For all those reasons, the Commission concluded that now is the time to rekindle America's promise to help all its citizens obtain equality of opportunity, and so we reached an overall goal which the next chart displays. We believe our national goal should be to eliminate the gaps that mark racial and ethnic minority populations as disadvantages and to enable them to enjoy a quality of life as high as that of the white majority.

It is our hope that a similar commission meeting 20 years from now and examining the kind of statistics we have presented in this report will reveal no such disadvantage as we see today, and so our goal could be translated into saying that it is to make our minority citizens more visible physically in every realm of American life and achievement and less visible statistically as the conditions in which they live resemble and equal the conditions enjoyed by the majority.

We know that is not an easy goal, we know there are many obstacles to its achievement, but we do believe that if we work together towards that objective it is possible over the next two decades to surpass the progress that we have made in the previous 25 years.

As individual citizens, each of us pledges ourselves to do what we can to contribute to that effort, but we point out that progress will require a much broader commitment, and it will depend on initiatives taken by Government, by business, by educational institutions, by voluntary organizations, by minority groups and leaders, and, of course, most of all, by individual minority citizens themselves.

So in identifying the strategies we believe should be followed to achieve success, we addressed ourselves to each of these sectors. Let me review with you the seven strategies that we believe should form the overall plan for dealing with this particular challenge.

The first, on the first chart, is that America's institutions of higher learning, which we represent to some extent, must renew and strengthen their efforts to increase minority recruitment and retention and graduation, and we start with ourselves because we acknowledge that we have work to do.

The second chart is addressed to our national leaders, to you in the Congress and to the President, and we urge you and want to work with you to identify and implement policies to stimulate economic growth and restore national solvency to deal with the Feder-

al budget deficit, because powerful economic growth itself is part of the solution to our problems.

Third, we call on elected officials at all levels—Federal, State, and local levels—to assume responsibility for leading efforts to assure minority advancement.

Fourth, we urge private and voluntary organizations to initiate new programs to increase minority participation and to expand and enforce those programs that already exist.

Fifth, we call for a new vision of affirmative action that stresses voluntary efforts around which we can forge a new and powerful national consensus. That is not an alternative to legislation but is in addition to it, going beyond the letter and into the spirit of affirmative action, with every sector contributing to the development and implementation of that vision.

Sixth, we call on minority public officials, and institutions, and organizations to expand the roles which, until now, have been so important for our minority citizens, to expand and reinforce those in the year ahead.

Finally, we in education are conscious that we have much to do to improve coordination and cooperation across the systems and the levels and the sectors from preschool through graduate school, from inner city schools to community colleges to major research universities.

That is an ambitious agenda, Mr. Chairman, and we are conscious that our goal is not easily achieved, but we are happy to report that the response to date has been very encouraging. In the few short months since this document was issued, we have seen an outpouring of public interest around the country. The report itself received front-page coverage in hundreds of newspapers and very strong editorial support for its goals and recommendations. We have some collections of various articles that appeared, and we will be happy to share copies of them with you.

We have received requests literally from thousands of private citizens and organizations for copies of the report, and while I cannot speak for all sectors who were represented on the Commission, certainly the reaction from higher education has been very encouraging, and my colleague, Bob Atwell, I hope, will elaborate a little on that.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we believe that we are confronted with a unique opportunity with public awareness and public commitment on the rise. We also believe that there is a growing understanding by leaders in every sector and by the public at large that the continuing prosperity and security of the Nation will depend on our success in fully integrating minority citizens into every area of American life.

I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and your fellow committee members for the time and the opportunity to testify on our report. Of course, I would be happy to answer questions following comments by other Commission members who are able to join us this morning.

Thank you, sir.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you, Dr. Rhodes, for a very excellent statement.

The next witness is Dr. Robert Atwell, president of the American Council on Education.

Mr. ATWELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I too appreciate the opportunity of testifying before your committee.

President Rhodes has spoken about the background of the Commission, its findings and recommendations, and I would like to take just a few minutes to talk about the involvement of the American Council on Education in this project and in this subject and some of the things that are happening at ACE and in the higher education community to follow up on the Commission's work.

The American Council on Education, as I think you know, is the umbrella association for the Nation's accredited degree-granting institutions of higher education. Our membership includes over 1,400 colleges and universities and about 200 educational associations that represent various segments of the higher education community.

For several years, we have been acutely and increasingly aware that the rate of participation of minority students in higher education, particularly blacks and Hispanics, has been stagnant or declining. After a period of rapid growth in the late sixties and the early seventies, the percentage of black high school graduates enrolling in college peaked in 1975 at 48 percent, and by 1985 this had dropped to 44 percent. The most recent figures for 1986 show a slight uptick to 47 percent, but that still puts us below the 1975 rate, and similar trends have been apparent for Hispanic students, the participation rates of whom are below both blacks and whites.

A variety of social and economic factors may have contributed to this reversal, including the end of the Vietnam war in 1974 and the recessions of the late seventies and early 1980's, yet during this same period participation by white students remained essentially stable at about 53 percent and in recent years, and encouragingly so, has increased somewhat.

As you well know, in the first half of the 1980's the focus of the higher education community was almost exclusively on the preservation of Federal student aid in the face of efforts by the Reagan administration to reduce or to eliminate many of the programs that provide necessary assistance to low-income students. Indeed, we believe that the reduction in the value of direct grants to low-income students over the past eight years and the shift in emphasis of student aid from grants to loans have been major contributing factors—indeed, I would say the single most important factors—in the low rate of minority college participation.

However, the problem certainly goes far beyond the availability of Federal aid. The fact is that, except for the period of activism and enthusiasm in the late 1960's and early 1970's when most of the existing programs were established, our colleges and universities have not done a very good job of recruiting minority students or retaining them until graduation. Minorities are still terribly underrepresented in our faculties and in administrative positions.

So the college presidents and chancellors on the ACE board recognized that we could not place responsibility for stalled progress solely at the Federal doorstep, nor could we wait for the adoption of new Federal policies or the allocation of additional Federal resources to respond to this situation, and so, almost two years ago,

the board approved a minority initiative that we hope will help stimulate new efforts at colleges and universities across the Nation. That initiative is now our highest priority as an organization, and the Commission on Minority Participation was the first phase.

The purpose of the Commission was to focus public attention on the dimensions and implications of the problem. We believed that a strong statement, endorsed by a panel of distinguished Americans, setting out goals for the Nation and strategies for achieving them, could help set the stage for action at all levels in our colleges and universities, in the private and voluntary sectors, and by the Federal Government and State and local governments. Our objective was to make it clear to the American people that in addition to its importance to the fulfillment of our democratic ideals and values minority advancement is absolutely crucial to the future prosperity of our economy and to our national security.

We believe the word is spreading, and we have been very encouraged by the response to the report in the media, on college campuses, and elsewhere in American society. That is not to say that opinion on the scope of the problem or what we should do about it is unanimous. Even so, disagreements on these issues or the magnitude of the problem have endangered a healthy debate that, in the long run, should further increase public awareness and help generate a broader social consensus on the need for action.

But I want to stress that in much of the higher education community consensus already exists that we cannot wait for the Federal Government or any other sector to take the lead. We must recognize that we must take responsibility for those things we can do ourselves in our own institutions to increase minority participation in all aspects of higher education.

I must say that I have been encouraged by what I have seen so far. This past July, a little more than a month after the release of the Commission's report in May, ACE sponsored a conference entitled "Educating One-Third Of A Nation: Minorities In Higher Education." We expected about 200 people to participate. Instead, nearly 500 senior administrators from more than 120 colleges and universities gathered in Washington in the midst of one of the worst spells of our long, hot summer to plan concrete strategies for recruiting and retaining minority students on their own campuses, and all around the country we are seeing college presidents commit themselves and their institutions to renewed efforts to increase minority enrollment, to increase the graduation rate of minority students, to increase minority representation on the faculty and in the administration. Many of these leaders are going beyond the campus to inform legislators, alumni, and the general public just how important success in this endeavor is to their institutions, their communities, and our society at large.

Later this year, as part of our continuing minority initiative, ACE will issue a several-hundred-page handbook for colleges and universities outlining successful practices and programs for increasing minority participation, and currently we are planning additional programs that will keep this issue on the front burner for higher education for a long time to come.

Mr. Chairman, we know that this is not a short-term problem. Twenty years ago, at the peak of the civil rights movement, few of us would have believed that in 1988 we still would have so far to go to achieve a truly just and equitable society, yet we are determined to build on the progress that we have made.

The Commission set a goal for the United States of eliminating the disparities in terms of educational participation between the races in our society within 20 years. For many of us in higher education, this commitment is something we will be involved in for the rest of our professional lives, but it is a commitment that is absolutely essential to the continuing vitality of our society and the security of our Nation.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and I too would be happy to answer your questions at the conclusion of the panel's testimony.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you, Dr. Atwell.

We will hear from all of the witnesses and then submit questions to the witnesses after they have testified.

Dr. Wilma Mankiller, chief, Cherokee Nation. Dr. Mankiller, we welcome you.

Ms. MANKILLER. Thank you. Good morning, and thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me a little time to testify.

Just briefly I will tell you a little bit about our tribe and our interest in this issue. I am the chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, which is the second largest tribe in the country. We have a tribal membership of around 100,000 people. Our jurisdictional area covers 14 counties in eastern Oklahoma.

We have a long history of involvement in higher education. Long before Oklahoma became a State or there were Federal programs aiding American Indians, we owned and operated and developed our own educational systems. We had a male and a female seminary that we built in the early 1840's. They were the first schools of higher education west of the Mississippi, Indian or non-Indian. We also had a seminary for the education of women, which was a very radical idea at that time in that part of the world. So we have a long history and interest in higher education.

When Oklahoma became a State in 1906, the curriculum at our high school was so advanced that the Oklahoma legislature automatically gave the students who graduated from our high school 2 years of college credit. Today, in 1988, one of our schools in our jurisdictional area has an 80 percent Cherokee population, the administrator is Cherokee, has won one of the seven awards in the United States for academic excellence, and they are in town this week to receive their award.

We have become very concerned about the educational problems as we have lost control of our educational system and, obviously, resources. On the very site that housed our institutions of higher education there stands now Northeastern Oklahoma State University. This was an institution developed and built by our tribe. Our people were very literate and very well educated, and yet today in 1988 many of our people are not able to attend college on that very same site because of a lack of resources.

In our case, most people, I think, are aware that American Indians are the poorest of the poor in this country. It is absolutely a

question of resources. In some of the other cases that were cited by the other gentlemen here, there is a lack of commitment maybe on the institutions' part to making sure that there is a good minority recruitment program. In our case, it is simply a matter of not being able to attend college because there is not the money to do it any more.

We also, among Indian people and our tribe specifically, saw an increase in the number of minority students in the mid to the late seventies, and it started to slide, or we noticed the slide several years ago and became very concerned, in fact, alarmed, about that situation.

Most Indian tribes in this country are trying very hard to dig our way out of a terrible situation, all the problems related to poverty. We can't do that without an educated populace, just as this country can't dig its way out of a poor economic situation without educated people, and so we are very, very concerned. We don't know where our teachers are going to come from, where our computer people are going to come from, where our accountants are going to come from, our social workers, our physicians for our clinics. So we are very, very concerned about this issue, and thus my involvement in this Commission and my attempt in my own small way to try to draw attention to this problem.

From my own perspective outside my tribe, I have worked for a number of years with coalitions of other races to try to increase cultural understanding, and I must say that one of the things that personally concerns me is that there appears to be a lot of concern in this country about the increase in the minority population when actually I believe it should be a time for celebration and that there should be an attempt to deal with some of the problems that are going to be caused by the fact that the minority population is increasing and the number of minority people in higher education is actually declining. Anyone can see that that is going to present problems. Our point in being here today is simply to try to draw attention to that fact and to get people at your level to begin to help us institute some policies to turn that situation around.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Wilma Mankiller follows:]

STATEMENT BY WILMA MANKILLER

PRINCIPAL CHIEF

CHEROKEE NATION

BEFORE THE

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1988

PREFACE

In 1841, the Cherokee Nation established in Indian Territory a school system so well designed that it taught their children to read and write English and their tribal language. The system was more successful than those of the surrounding white population in the states of Texas and Arkansas.

The Cherokee National Government ran the school system from 1841 until 1898 without interference from the U.S. Government. The U.S. Government did not intervene until 1898 after the passage of the Curtis Act. Prior to that, the Five Civilized Tribes "required no educational provisions by the U.S. Government."

The Federal Government took over the educational system of the Cherokees in 1906 and Cherokee education began a downward trend from which they have not yet fully recovered.

A 1908 graduate of the Cherokee Female Seminary, Ms. Ida W. Tinnin, provides the following account of the curriculum:

....The curriculum was broad and rich and the subjects were well taught. The curriculum included German, Latin, four years of mathematics, four years of English, the Sciences (Botany, Chemistry, Physics, Zoology, Physiology), Music, Home Economics, and other basic subjects. Because the course of study was so far ahead of its time, and the teachers had superior preparation, a plan was worked out after statehood by the Legislature, the State Department of Education and Northeastern College to grant a blanket of 62 hours of college credit to the graduates of the Cherokee National Male and Female Seminaries.

One-third of a Nation: Minorities in the United States

American Indians/an overview

1980 Census:

There were 1,478,523 American Indians or .7% of the 227 million total U.S. population in 1980. About one-third of these were in school. There were 169,464 American Indians or 11.5% of the total U.S. American Indian population residing in Oklahoma.

American Indians and Higher Education:

In 1982, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reported 87,700 American Indians enrolled in colleges and universities or .7% of the total U.S. higher education enrollment.

In 1984, the Chronicle of Higher Education (July 23, 1986) reported that there were 82,672 American Indians enrolled nationwide in higher education institutions.

In 1984, the Bureau of Indian Affairs estimated the number of American Indians in college to be as high as 30,000. Approximately 13,160 American Indians were receiving BIA higher education scholarships at the time of this estimate.

There is considerable discrepancy between the Bureau of Indian Affairs estimate and the U.S. census and other national data and, therefore, subject to debate or skepticism among Indian educators and researchers.

Indians in Oklahoma Higher Education:

In the fall 1982, there were 5,139 American Indians enrolled in the Oklahoma State higher education system or 5.9% of the nationwide Indian enrollment of 87,700 for that year.

On a local basis, there were 1,140 American Indians enrolled at Northeastern State University in the Spring 1987 or 14.5% of the total enrollment of 7,806. At the same time Northeastern had a minority student population of almost 21%.

In the fall 1987, there were 1,282 American Indians enrolled at Northeastern and it was estimated that between 800-900 of these are Cherokee. There were actually 215 students receiving higher education scholarships through the Cherokee Nation Education Department.

Higher Education Degrees Conferred:

According to the National Research Council 80 doctoral degrees were conferred to American Indians or 0.3% of those conferred nationally in 1982-83. Oklahoma awarded 6 doctoral degrees in 1982-83 or 7.5% of the doctoral degrees awarded to American Indians nationally.

The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) in its Digest of Education Statistics 1983-84 reported that 1,034 master's degrees were awarded to American Indians nationally or 0.4% of all master's degrees awarded. Oklahoma awarded 77 master's degrees to American Indians in 1980-81 comprising 7.4% of all master's degrees awarded to American Indians.

The NCES also reported 3,593 bachelor's degrees were awarded to American Indians in 1980-81 or 0.4% of the total bachelor degrees awarded. At the same time Oklahoma awarded 301 or 8.4% of the bachelor degrees awarded to all American Indians that year.

High School To College Movement:

Drop-out rates for American Indians exceed that of any minority or ethnic group in America. Only 55 percent of American Indians graduate from high school compared with 83 percent of white students. Furthermore, only 17 percent of American Indian high school graduates enter college as opposed to 38 percent of white students.

In Oklahoma, the movement from high school to college is almost identical to the national average. The Oklahoma Indian student population enrolls at just half the rate of the general population. Based upon a five-year study (1979-1983), it was determined that the average American Indian high school senior class has been 3,698 students. On the average over the five-year period analyzed, 1,258 American Indian students enrolled as first-time freshmen each summer and fall semester.

American Indians are not moving into college at parity to the general high school senior population. The five-year study conducted by the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education was able to determine the disparity regionally and by county. There were on the average, 1,258 American Indians who were first-time freshmen on an annual average between 1979 and 1983. Based on the enrollment patterns of the general population, the expected enrollment of American Indians was 2,445 students. However, as large as the disparity appears to be, it represents an extreme improvement over previous enrollments. According to the Regents report data by race prior to 1975 is difficult to obtain, but there was one comprehensive study by the State Regents in 1962. In the fall 1962, there were 148 first-time American Indian freshmen enrolled and represented 1.3 percent of the total enrollment in Oklahoma colleges and universities. In the fall 1983, the enrollment was 1,277 or 4.3 percent of the overall enrollment. Between 1962 and 1983 the enrollment for American Indian first-time freshmen in Oklahoma colleges and universities had increased by over eight hundred percent (800%).

Conclusion:

Regardless of current disparities, there have been remarkable gains made in education by American Indians over the past twenty years. The field of education and its relationship to American Indians is a complex and dynamic field of potential research. Many American Indians and Indian educators view education as a means of acquiring "survival" skills by which Indian people may protect their own particular culture and life ways including language, history, custom, traditions and tribal religions. Other American Indians regard education and the public school system as an alien institution and an enemy to their culture. However one might perceive the system, it is only to the advantage for our people to succeed in the system beginning in the early childhood years.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you.

The final witness is Ms. Dorothy Height, executive director of the National Conference of Negro Women.

Ms. Height, needless to say, you and I have worked together for a long time.

Ms. HEIGHT. Many years.

Chairman HAWKINS. It is a real pleasure to have you as one of the witnesses before the committee today.

Ms. HEIGHT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a pleasure to be here with you and the committee. I appreciate the leadership you have given through the years in helping us to close some of these gaps and to open up opportunity.

As you know, I represent the National Council of Negro Women, which 53 years ago was founded by Mary McCloud Bethune, a woman who had been born of slave parents and yet she became an adviser to Presidents of the United States, and she is the only black woman who has founded a 4-year accredited college, Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, FL, and from its inception, the National Council of Negro Women has tried in the tradition of Mrs. Bethune to deal with problems that affect the black family, the community, and of course the whole Nation.

One of our concerns is that we have always valued as a people education. In her last will and testament, Mrs. Bethune says, "I leave you a thirst for education," and there was a stress on "education," and we have seen education as a way out of some of the problems and some of the limitations and deprivations that have plagued us.

I think there have been moments in our history when our hopes were high as, 25 years ago, when here in this city we joined with thousands of others of all races who came for the March on Washington. At that time, there was a kind of sense of righteous indignation in this country about the impact of poverty and racism and deprivation in the lives of people. Somehow, that climate is not there now, and many of the gains that we thought we had won through the civil rights movement we find now are either weakening or threatened. Affirmative action, on which we had counted to help us address some of the long-standing ills, is in itself threatened.

I prized the opportunity to be a part of this Commission and to be associated with this new challenge, because I think it is one of the most positive things that has happened since the March on Washington to have this coming together and outpouring of recognition and a willingness to acknowledge the fact that we are not moving in the direction that we thought we were in the height of the civil rights movement, and the attitudes and concerns that have risen have, in a sense, discouraged some of those whose parents went to jail singing, "We shall overcome."

Our young people are graduating more out of high school but not moving on to college. They find that neither they nor their parents, after all they have struggled for to get opening up opportunity, have the economic position from which to pay the check. So the decrease in the number who are going into college is a major concern at a time of great technological advancement.

It concerns us, too, that while there are many reports that more people are better off, that more blacks and other minorities are sinking more deeply into poverty. The disparity in the numbers of people who are advancing into decent jobs is one that, in itself, serves to be a deterrent to young people when and we are trying to encourage them to go on to school. When you live in a neighborhood where there is no one going to work or where there are few who are going on towards advanced education, it is very hard to find role models who will help you understand that you are somebody with a future.

Many of our black organizations, the National Conference of Negro Women among them, are trying very hard to stimulate that sense of self-esteem. We are putting a great deal of stress on the black family, and just this weekend on the Washington Monument grounds more than 350,000 people came out. The pavilions that dealt with education had standing room only at all times. The numbers who were seeking to find out how they could get support to go to college, or to go on to school, or to get back into high school were, in themselves, so encouraging. So we know that there are latent interests there, but somehow they have to be motivated and stimulated, and there is nothing more stimulating than opportunity and that of seeing that jobs are available and that people are given the skills that they need to face those jobs.

We are concerned about the fact not just that so many of our families are headed by women but that 58 percent of those headed by women live in poverty and that such a high percentage of our children are growing up as victims of both racism and poverty.

We welcome this report because of its strong stress on the need for a new vision in this Nation of affirmative action, a new realization that we cannot simply go along without trying to do something to lift those who are the farthest behind. The National Council of Negro Women has as its slogan, "Leave no one behind," and we find ourselves increasingly concerned that as we think we are making progress we feel that we have so very little with which to work.

I also feel that today the Nation itself, through this report, has the opportunity to come to a new kind of enlightened self-interest to realize that we can neither serve our economic needs nor our security needs if we are not prepared as a people. The hopes, the aspirations, are there, but the opportunity and the education will have to be there to match it for us to be prepared.

In today's world, when we are plagued in our minority communities, as in all communities, with increasing drug traffic, with illicit dealings, with things that pull young people in directions that are self-destructive, there has to be some base for giving them hope. We have been working very hard with parents, helping them to understand the importance that no matter how little or how much education they have, that they can encourage their children, they can help to stimulate their interests.

But in order to do this at its best, there is the need for the kind of leadership that you, Mr. Chairman, and I think others in our public sector have to give that assure the kind of resources, that we are not giving people false hope, and that we can quicken the connection between young people who need to have basic education,

who need to be encouraged to stay in school, and who need to have some sense that they have the potential for advancement and the opportunities that are provided.

Parity in the economy and parity in educational opportunity are somehow so connected that I think that this report provides a service to America that we should find all the ways that we can to get its message through, and I know that I can speak for a number of the black institutions as I also am chairman of the Black Leadership Forum that embraces our major black institutions, that all are now placing a priority on education. We have taken the year 2000 as a critical moment and are working hard to see that those who are in any way touched by us are aware of the fact that they must somehow be prepared if they wish to enter the work force in the year 2000.

So I join with my colleagues on the Commission in thanking you for this opportunity, in saying that we need your continuing leadership, and that all of our institutions stand ready to do whatever we can, but we know we cannot do it alone. Self-help has been the secret of black survival. We know it can be a part of our advancement, but even self-help needs the support that we must have from our national leadership.

Thank you very much.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you, and may the chair on behalf of the committee thank all of the witnesses for the very excellent testimony.

First of all, I ask unanimous consent that the report itself, which is fairly brief, be printed in the record preceding the testimony of the witnesses. Without objection, it is so ordered.

May I direct a question to, I suppose, the president of the American Council on Education. I don't know whether, Dr. Rhodes, or you, Dr. Atwell, would best answer this, but perhaps you both will give it a try.

Now that the Commission has issued a report which certainly, I think, by every indication is highly successful and well received, do you intend to stay in operation, and in what way do you intend to carry out the strategies that you have outlined, which I think are excellent? It is a matter of whether or not they are going to be buried, however, and not be carried out. I say that in a provocative sense. I am sure you will give a better answer than the question assumes.

Mr. ATWELL. Mr. Chairman, the Commission itself will not stay in operation, but the American Council on Education will continue to see to the implementation of this report in a variety of ways.

First of all, we have a Commission on Minority Participation in Higher Education, a permanent commission, meeting later this week, as a matter of fact, to consider precisely the question that you have asked, and I think also I would say that we are in this for the long pull, and that means that we are going to engage in a number of activities that bear on the subject.

For example, later this fall we will issue this several-hundred-page handbook dealing with five major areas that colleges and universities should give attention to in improving minority participation, ranging from the admission of students and the recruitment of students to their survival to graduation and to minority partici-

pation on the faculty and staff and to the very touchy and tricky issue of the sometimes chilly climate for minorities on campus. So that is a very major undertaking.

I mentioned the conference. I might mention a project involving articulation between 2- and 4-year institutions that we have just received some money from the Ford Foundation for.

We have identified four or five community colleges around the country which are doing a very good job in terms of promoting the idea of students who enter community colleges moving on to 4-year institutions. It develops that more than half the Hispanics and almost half the blacks in American higher education are in community colleges, but very few of them move from those 2-year institutions into 4-year institutions, and we have identified some four or five where they are doing that rather well, and we want to get that message spread around as well.

So I think, Mr. Chairman, that we see this as a very long pull effort, and I suppose maybe one of the most important things that we continually do is advocate on behalf of the student aid programs before your committee, before Mr. Williams' subcommittee, and the Appropriations Committees as well, and you can expect us to continue to do that, because that is an absolutely essential ingredient in this whole process.

Chairman HAWKINS. I certainly think the budget situation is an impediment to the acceptance of the strategies you have outlined, unfortunately. I don't think that is all, but certainly unless we are able to obtain greater recognition that education is a priority issue, maybe the number one issue facing the Nation, we are not going to get the sympathy, unfortunately, that will advance the cause. I am thinking not only of post-secondary, I am thinking also of elementary and secondary, which I think fits in.

Recently I noted that the number of blacks, for example, who had their doctorate degrees is a very pitiful record—such numbers as five or six in computer science, three or four in biology, chemistry, engineering, and so forth, a very small number. Actually, there are more blacks of African descent—African nationals, actually—in this country who have earned more doctorate degrees than native blacks, and certainly more foreign students, I think, almost as many foreign students as American students at that level.

But I think it begins at an earlier level, and I was wondering to what extent, with the power that you have been able to exercise thus far and the potential that you have—whether or not this will be in some way related to the earlier grades, because I think it all begins in the earlier grades, and the incentive has to be stimulated, it seems to me, at that point, and the qualifications to go on to post-secondary must be built at the elementary and secondary levels, and these are the very levels that are very pathetic, very dismal, when you stop to think of the drop-outs and the lack of qualifications of those who even graduate from high school to go on to become qualified.

Thus, we have the real problem of many universities and colleges today of saying, "Why should we act as a second school system for unqualified individuals in our ranks?" I have one example of a west coast university that has recently turned its back on affirmative action in its law school merely because they say, "Well, our

law school is getting a bad name because we are trying to deal with individuals who probably are not going to pass the bar examination," and consequently it reflects on that institution.

What I am suggesting is, this whole issue of quality in education has, in effect, worked against minorities in that fewer teachers are being prepared, and obviously they are not included among faculty members to the same extent as others, and this idea that they have got to improve quality at the expense of equity seems to be the spirit that is prevailing in the current climate.

This isn't altogether your problem, but I am sure that you have dealt with it, and what do you think is the single most important thing that we could do, or some of the things that we can do, at this level that would improve the situation to provide that continuity of assistance and guidance through the educational system from preschool into college and into graduate study? It is a big question, but it seems to me that is where we are losing out because the pools are not being enlarged so that they can advance from one level to the next in terms of qualifications.

Mr. RHODES. We would agree with you, Mr. Chairman, and our final recommendation, which is still on the display board there, is that we ourselves have a job to do in coordinating education at all levels.

We hope that with your leadership in keeping this on the national agenda and especially by ensuring the flow of Federal funding into precollege education, something like 7 percent of the total, is specially targeted at disadvantaged students of various kinds. You can help us as the leaders both in terms of Federal participation and also in keeping it on the State and local agenda.

We have been reaching out in three different ways that it may be worth just setting out very briefly before you. The first is that this report was written jointly with the Educational Commission of the States, and on that Commission the governors and the commissioners of education for the States are members, and that organization has been very active on a statewide basis, State by State, in attempting to take up the problem of the schools and to see what State incentives as well as local initiatives could do to help. We are encouraged at the degree of enthusiasm there is to take up this project as a new challenge.

The second group we have been working with is the business community, and later this month, on the 26th, we shall release another report by the Business Higher Education Forum. This deals with one aspect of the problem we have talked about this morning from a slightly different point of view, and it looks at the composition of the future work force of our Nation and points out the very serious consequences unless we can solve the problems we now face in our elementary and secondary schools.

What is interesting about that report is not just that it is another report, which suggests that the Federal Government and the States and other people should get on with their work but also that it will set up a standing commission of higher education and business leaders, including some of the major corporations in this country, which will work together on educational programs and will reach into the schools and seek their partnership in addressing the same issues, trying to strengthen the link between college and

schools and schools and college and work. That link, I think, is a vital one, and we are very optimistic about the work of that commission.

A third thing that is happening is that across the members of the ACE—and Dr. Atwell has described the 1,400 members we have—I see a new effort to establish partnerships with the schools. We have been very slow to do this, and we must accept a share of the responsibility for the failure of the schools.

On my own campus, for example, this summer, there were three different programs in operation that spoke to the needs to link up between the different sectors of education. We have a program for minorities interested in careers in science and engineers, and this summer we brought 22 students from neighboring communities to Ithaca, NY, and they spent 2 weeks working with faculty members in science and engineering and then went back to their homes. Now next year and the year after, for one Saturday a month, they will come back to the campus with the same faculty members as mentors. We will provide funds which give them a prize for every A they receive in their course work, and we will bank that in a scholarship fund for them. If they compete successfully in a science fair in their home district, we will give them another cash prize for participating in that, and we will put it into an escrow scholarship fund. That has been a very successful program, and next year we are extending it to seventh and eight graders. This particular one was sophomores in high school.

A second program we are looking at tries to strengthen the link between undergraduate education and graduate and professional school, and you pointed out a moment ago in your own comments the tragedy we face in the low under-represented minority enrollment in graduate school. In the last year for which we have figures, 1986, only 11 students nationwide, black students, received Ph.D.'s in mathematics. There are over 3,000 colleges who are crying out for professors in that area; industry is crying out; Federal labs and research projects are crying out.

In computer science, as you pointed out, only one black student received a Ph.D. in 1986. We simply cannot allow that to continue, and so we have established now a series of programs that bring undergraduates to a college campus during the summer for 2 months in a research internship, working with a faculty mentor who will stay in touch with that student throughout the subsequent 2 or 3 years.

The success rate of that program, sponsored by Cornell with the help of the Mellon and the Ford Foundations and in partnership with five other major universities, the success of that program over the last 4 years is phenomenal. Something between 75 and 90 percent of those people are going on to graduate and professional school in the various years involved.

We think these local initiatives across the Nation—and that story could be multiplied—are beginning to show encouraging results, but we know that more is going to be needed, and we do know also that we shall need your continuing help in keeping it on the national agenda.

Chairman HAWKINS. I want to thank you on those local initiatives. That is precisely what I wanted to have you include in the answer.

I think it is very encouraging. Let me simply tell you that if we are duly notified we will operate the committee in such a way that its members and its staff will be made available during any of those hearings, or those councils, or those conferences to work with you on any of those local initiatives, because I think we need to prepare for the future, and I am confident this committee will be amply represented if members of the committee are invited to participate.

Mr. RHODES. Thank you, sir.

Chairman HAWKINS. Dr. Height.

Ms. HEIGHT. Mr. Chairman, I also think that one of the things we are aware of is the relationship between the early childhood education and the whole trend toward child development related to education. I think that the support that has been given for Head Start and what has come out of Head Start has taught us that a lot of difference happens when children early on have that kind of exposure.

That is why I think that, at the same time, what we do now in providing quality child care that reaches low-income families is very much related to what we are trying to do in higher education, because I think that that early experience is basic and it has to be something that is much more than custodial. It has to provide some kind of educational experience that helps children to learn how to learn. But I know this committee is considering and working on that as very vital and very critical.

Chairman HAWKINS. Certainly. I want to commend you on what you have done in that connection.

May I say this as a side issue; it is nothing to do with the witnesses, because it may seem a little political, but I am really shocked that here, in the middle of a great national debate on who should lead the Nation during the next 4 years, we see very little being said by any candidate about early childhood development in specifics.

Only 18 percent of children are in Head Start among those who are eligible, and yet we hear of fear that there is a reluctance of candidates to say that within a period of time, 5 years, 6 years, on an incremental basis, we are going to see that every child in this country who is entitled to Head Start gets it. Are we going to fully fund Chapter 1? There is really on the part of, I think, the American voters to fear anyone who advocates the spending of money in order to do the very job that needs to be done. I am not blaming the candidates of either party, but I am indicating the climate of the country that has us in such a situation where individuals are afraid to speak out for what has to be done merely because we talked about a balanced budget. But, as I say, that is a side issue.

I yield to Mr. Ballenger.

Mr. BALLENGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I agree with you 100 percent. If I may, I would like to expound on two of the statements that Mrs. Height made.

First of all, I don't know if any of you read the latest issue of Business Week. The lead article on the front page is about the definitely sad situation we have as far as the future of our country is concerned, because we are not developing the youth we have. Continuing this situation will make us a second-class power in the world.

A British gentleman came to this country in the late 1800's and explained why Great Britain was no longer a leading country. His reasoning was that the ability to read and write in Great Britain at that time was 85 percent whereas in the United States it was 95 percent. Today, if you look at the statistics, the Japanese have a 95-percent literacy rate and we have an 85-percent literacy rate.

I am a businessman and, in speaking from the business viewpoint, have, I think, enlightened self-interest. The word that you chose is almost the description of Business Week's effort. We in business must do whatever we can to assist.

I would like to stick a needle into the Government here. My company about 10 or 15 years ago had a fringe benefit designed to give scholarships to any of our students that wanted to go on to college. We had applications; we had six applications, and we approved them all. Three applicants were black and three white. The Federal Government came along and said because we didn't turn anybody down we had to stop our program. They allowed the ones in the program to finish, but we had to stop future scholarships because we never turned anybody down. If we had known in advance, we could have brought my children into the program, and since it was against the law for my children to participate, we could have rejected them. I didn't know the statistic was necessary.

One thing more. My manufacturing plant is, roughly speaking, about a third black, a third white, and we have employees of oriental extraction. But the American children are not inbred with the thirst for education.

I have 35 employees that came into this country from Vietnam after the war, and out of those 35 there were 8 children that have been growing up, and every one of those 8 children is still in school. One, she was almost a college student when she arrived, but she has gotten her Ph.D. in computer science. Somewhere, the Orientals that came to this country with nothing, and couldn't even speak the language, have brought their children up to understand the value of an education if they are going to go ahead.

I am not talking only blacks and whites. The dropout rate in schools in my home county, for both white and black, is terrible. How do you develop the desire for an education. I think as you and I were growing up it was taken for granted that we would go and get an education, but now it doesn't seem to be there any more, and I don't think we in this committee or the Government itself can instill this desire in people.

I think I am posing you a question that probably doesn't have an answer but I think that it probably is more important.

In this same Business Week article, they admitted that the university system in this country today is probably the best in the world. I will agree with our chairman that it is excellent. But our precollege education is falling down badly at every level, and probably worse in big cities; I happen to live in a more rural area.

I am starting to make this speech, and I will soon stop.

Chairman HAWKINS. It is a good speech.

Mr. BALLENGER. Luckily, in North Carolina both our gubernatorial candidates have decided we will commit more money to education. The legislature, which is solidly Democrat, and the Gov-

ernor, who is a Republican, have committed over $1.6 billion in the next 3 years.

In my local county, the county commissioner and the school boards have committed that we would bring it from its ranking of 30th in the State into the top 10. They have made a commitment that they will fund this initiative and our chamber of commerce has hired a specialist. We paid a lot of money to get a Yankee down there; evidently, he is worth the effort. It is his commitment that he is going to make our local educational community better than it has been, and if we can just somehow pass that on in every area—well, I'll be quiet. I have got a crusade going on there.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you, Mr. Ballenger.

Mr. Williams.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Rhodes, one of your suggestions is that America develop a new vision of affirmative action that stretches voluntary efforts. I wasn't certain what that meant when I heard you say it. One interpretation of it could be alarming, however. When I went to page 26 of the report, I noted that you continue to call for strong affirmative action laws and say they are "an essential tool for achieving our goal." If my reading of that is correct, would you describe to us how you see the voluntary efforts fitting into the continuation of the affirmative action laws in the United States, and how can we encourage as a Congress and an education community and Congress working together the more aggressive voluntary pursuit of affirmative action?

Mr. RHODES. Congressman Williams, we do favor both a carrot and a stick, and we think the two go together. We believe you have helped us on the campuses and in industry and elsewhere with Federal legislation on the subject. I believe the gains that we have made would not have been possible without the legislation that is the underlying foundation of them.

We think, however, as we look at our own campuses and see our own achievements in this area that we have slowed down, and I think there are two reasons for that. One is that as you look around, people have somehow grown tired of keeping this as a priority topic. They think the problems were solved in the late sixties and early seventies and somehow that there isn't still work to be done.

The second thing that has happened, I think—and this is where we call for a new attitude and spirit—is that keeping the rules, so to speak, meeting the Federal requirements, keeping adequate statistics and making sure that we are complying with all Federal and State legislation have almost become a substitute for vigorous personal commitment to affirmative action, and I mean affirmative action there not just in the sense of recruitment, important as that is, but when a person is appointed to a position to develop a mentoring program that will provide support, and encouragement, and friendship to a situation in which that person may be the first minority individual appointed.

We think those two things go together and that it is possible to build a new consensus. We use the word "compassion," and we use the word "self-interest" in the report in various places built on

those two factors that will move affirmative action beyond the letter of the law, as important as that is, into a new spirit. I have seen that on my own campus this year. A year ago, we appointed three or four, I think it was, minority faculty members, underrepresented minority faculty members, to new positions. This year, that number, depending on how you make the count, is around 17, and that has been made possible by a new sense of commitment, people agreeing together, after a lot of talking, that this is a major priority for the years ahead. That is what makes the difference with just the same Federal legislation in place. So new incentives, new encouragement, new support, but beyond all, a new sense of personal commitment.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Dr. Atwell, a few of my colleagues over this past year have encouraged me, as the chairman of the Postsecondary Subcommittee, to hold a hearing or a series of hearings to look at the reports of racial incidents on some campuses in the United States. For several reasons, I have been, not reluctant but I think "hesitant" is a better word, to begin those hearings. I have talked with a number of college presidents on certain campuses to determine what their thoughts are both about the incidents themselves and the possibility of congressional oversight.

I wonder if you could give us your thoughts and perhaps the thoughts, if they are formed, from your Council, the American Council on Education, concerning both the incidents and the value, if any, or the liability in moving next year to have one or more hearings on the matter.

Mr. ATWELL. Mr. Williams, I think there has been a rise in the number of incidents and I think also a growing consciousness about what I referred to earlier in my testimony as the chiily campus climate in some instances at least.

I have been very encouraged this fall by the fact that on some of those campuses where those incidents occurred and in others where no incidents have occurred but where the climate may be chilly, there has been a lot of sensitivity and a lot of effort in sessions with new students and in opening convocations, and in training sessions, sensitivity sessions with staff and faculty, to address this problem. I mentioned also that it is one of the five topics in our handbook which is sort of standards of good practice and illustrations of what has worked.

I would not presume to advise the subcommittee as to whether or not it ought to have hearings. I think one of the very constructive things that could come out of hearings should you decide to do that would be to give a lot of visibility to the efforts that are being made around the Nation to address the issue, because I really do believe that there is a lot of concern, and a lot of interest, and a lot of activity taking place on college campuses this very fall on this subject. I suppose that anything that can be done to enhance that and to give visibility to that would be a good thing.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Chief Mankiller, I represent western Montana. We have within that part of Montana two tribes, the Blackfeet and the Salish Kootenai. The Salish Kootenai live in the Flathead Valley, and the Blackfeet live on the border of Glacier National Park. Both tribes have recently established tribally controlled community colleges, which haven't been there long enough to really

come up with good data yet, but our sense is that they are working and they are beginning to lift increasing numbers of citizens beyond high school education and into postsecondary.

We have, however, begun to get a sense that one of the goals that many of us had set or at least had hoped would be accomplished by these colleges, in fact, is working in reverse. We had hoped that these tribally controlled community colleges would be feeder schools to our 4-year institutions both within and outside of Montana, but rather than act as feeders, it appears—again, we don't have enough running data, but it appears that rather than act as feeder schools they are acting as drafts. They are pulling Indian students out of the 4-year institutions back to the tribally controlled community colleges.

A two-part question for you. Do you have tribally controlled community colleges? Have you seen that behavior operating among your people?

Ms. MANKILLER. The answer to your first question is no, we do not have a tribally controlled community college, although we have looked at the idea on several occasions. Our management style has been to try to work with the existing institutions, and because Northeastern Oklahoma State University is there in the capital of the Cherokee Nation we have tried to encourage them to develop programs to support Indian students.

We have a summer scholars program that takes kids that aren't likely to go to college, introduces them to college lifestyle, and many of those students do indeed enroll in college. We support a strong Saturday academy at our own high school. We own and operate a boarding school in Talaqua that encourages interest in math and science and so on. So we try to work with existing institutions.

I still think that in this country there is such a radical difference between the way most American Indians—and I am sure you know that—look at the world and most Americans look at the world that we still have major problems. Besides the resource question, there is a question of our view of the American dream and everyday Americans' view of the American dream, and I think that that needs to be addressed at the community college level to some extent.

I like the community college concept, the tribally operated community college. It can't make the situation much worse, because the kids that are going off to the 4-year institutions now, the Indian students, are dropping out at alarming rates. Less than 20 percent of all Indian students that graduate from high school go to college. Only 55 percent of all Indian students in this country even graduate from high school. So the community college program can't make the situation much worse than it is.

If we were to start a community college, we would start a community college with the specific idea of helping children that have a very different view of the world adapt to a college setting to sort of get them used to the idea of going off to a 4-year educational institution. So I think there is some value in the community college situation.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Director Height, yesterday my subcommittee was in Durham, NC, on the campus of North Carolina Central, where

we held the first hearing in almost a quarter of a century outside of Washington solely dedicated to the issue of historically black colleges and universities.

We had there representatives from Chicago State, North Carolina A&T; Tuskegee; Alabama A&M; Bennett College, the University of Arkansas, at Pine Bluff; Norfolk State University; Howard; and Johnson C. Smith University. The information they imparted to our subcommittee was, as Chairman Hawkins has been telling us for a long time, alarming, discouraging, and clearly threatening to America's future as one nation housing one people.

The problem, it occurs to me, is so large that no entity operating singly, no small group of entities operating together, can resolve it. It really is going to take a large, significant national effort, and it seems to me that black colleges and universities have some special and unique responsibilities to provide us with the very best suggestions that they can find and also to work with the elementary and secondary levels to try to find ways, with the expertise that is at their hand as teachers and administrators, to improve the beginning education of our black citizens.

Has the National Conference of Negro Women pursued this aggressively, directly with the black colleges and universities, and, if you have, can you tell us some of the suggestions that have been made to the black colleges and universities or what the goals are of your Conference in that regard?

Ms. HEIGHT. I think one of the things I want to say, as one who has never attended a black college but who has come to appreciate the role of the black college, is that the black college performs a very special function. I think many of them could do more to reach down and to reach across and do other things if they weren't always struggling just almost for survival. I think that has been a major task.

One of the things that relates to this is something that the National Council of Negro Women undertook last November. Chairman Hawkins himself was a part of it. We have started a Reach with Parents, helping parents, black parents, to understand the nature of education, the importance of education, to get a feel for their role in being supportive of children and helping to make it possible at every level.

We had a teleconference last year that reached over two million, and we have been following that up in communities and finding that for many parents there is a kind of awakening. Our black colleges joined us in that, and they are a major resource, and I think that we count on them for the leadership, and from them we have been able to get people to come from the black colleges into workshops with parents and to work with us at every level.

For many black children who have not had anyone in their family who has gone to college, it has been a very special experience even to have children visit colleges and do things like that. There is a real program.

Lingering in the back of my mind is something I want to say about your earlier question about the racial incidents, because I think something Chief Mankiller said later relates to all of this, and that is the need for all of our institutions to draw upon the

rich resources among people, the Native American, the blacks, and Hispanics, and others, to gain more appreciation.

I think that many of our young blacks who have gone into the mainstream schools, to our colleges, get discouraged early. The black colleges have carried a major load for those who come particularly out of rural areas and other places, because they have an appreciation for their heritage and their history.

I think that there is a need to relate the black college experience to both the parents, to institutions, but also to different levels of education so that we will close the gap. I think some of the hostility I find as I have gone to work with groups in some of the broader colleges is there, or some of it is there, because there is a lack of appreciation of what it means to be in a pluralistic society, an appreciation of people as people, and that many of our black, Native American, and other youth feel—as a young girl told me on Friday, she was delighted that she got a scholarship to a school in the Midwest, and she came and she said, "I didn't realize I was going to be the only black person there." It is like we dropped her at the bottom of the ocean.

Well, it seems to me that there is a kind of responsibility for all of our institutions to operate as if we are trying to build the strength of a pluralistic society, that the black colleges are a resource, their leadership is available to help, the black institutions are there, we are ready to help, but more of our young people will stay in school, I think, if they can at least feel that they are in a situation in which they do not have to try to be like somebody else but they can learn and they can learn at their own pace, and they will find people there to work with them. For this I think the black institutions, especially the colleges, are a major resource, and I only wish that they were in a stronger position to be able to lend some of their assistance in the broader community.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You mentioned an awakening. I think that may be one of the keys in trying to bring everyone together to help resolve this problem.

I don't believe white America is awake to this problem, and I don't believe that black America is either, or American Indian America or Hispanic America, and I would suggest that the fuel of political change is the election day campaign that precedes it and then the demands that emanate from it, and, tragically, minorities in America have opted out of that process. The registration and voting patterns of minority America is a disgrace, and it is their disgrace.

I think that minorities in America ought to quit looking at the pictures and turn up the sound, figure out what has happened to them, get registered, pay attention, and vote for somebody that is going to make a change in their individual lives, and they aren't doing it, and that goal for 20 years will not be reached unless they do it and unless they make the demands necessary to require the Congress of the United States and the leaders at all levels in this country to do it. America is menaced by this problem; American democracy is jeopardized by it.

We have set a goal for the next 20 years, and that is a perilous and treacherous path that we have to walk to reach that goal, but, in my judgment, if we don't do it the American Dream may die in

our generation, because unless we reach that goal together as a people we won't reach it at all. The clock and the bomb are both ticking for this country.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HAWKINS. Mr. Petri.

Mr. PETRI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to join with the other members of this panel in commending the members of your task force for their work and for their important contribution in hopefully renewing our commitment, and a broad commitment in our country, to the goal of full participation of all Americans in what we like to call the American Dream.

I would also like to thank the chairman for scheduling this hearing and helping your work along by drawing attention to it. You are trying, in effect, to lead by example and by urging and hopefully by pricking people's conscience a little bit, getting them to move this up on their agendas and actually do something all across the country in colleges, universities, public schools, and private organizations, and so on, and I commend you for that.

In this committee, we have spent years, many of us, working to try to improve the work study, grant and student loan programs of our country. They are not perfect and require continual effort. There has just been an idea that has been put forward; it is not a new idea, but it is getting new prominence, because I think the Governor of Massachusetts has come forward with a proposal for income-dependent educational assistance. Mr. Reischauer over at the Brookings Institution has worked on it, and others in the education community have. I don't know if you have any comment on it, but I certainly would appreciate hearing from you whether you think this offers promise of furthering the goal you are attempting to help us achieve of full participation by everyone in education and other aspects of American life or whether it is irrelevant to that goal or counterproductive to it. Would anyone care to comment at all on that?

Mr. ATWELL. Yes, if I may. I think the Dukakis proposal for a loan program which would be income contingent in terms of repayment is an interesting idea for middle income families and for middle income students. I was pleased that it was accompanied by statements of support for the existing mechanisms which this committee has been concerned with and which you mentioned because I think adequate funding, grant programs for the neediest of the needy, is simply the highest priority, and we have gone backward on that in the past some years.

So I think it is an interesting idea, it ought to be explored, but it has limited applicability, frankly, with respect to this problem that we put before you today. It would not go a long way toward helping those people.

I also have to say that I am concerned about any effort which has the effect of further shifting to the next generation the costs of college. That is a comment for middle income parents. I don't think they ought to be left off the hook entirely in this process either, and I am concerned that we have the national debt that we are passing on and other kinds of goodies, or baddies in this case, so I

would hope that that particular dimension of the proposal would be looked at as well.

I would say that a particular piece of legislation before this committee and before the Congress that would be of very great help in turning around the grant-in-loan imbalance is Mr. Williams' proposal to make the Pell grant program an entitlement. Indeed, what has happened in the past eight years in this shift from grants to loans is that I think that has been maybe the single most important out of many factors that has deterred minority participation, the loan burden. I think that a particular piece of legislation which is part of the default legislation that would make an entitlement out of the Pell grant program, that, accompanied by more adequate funding of the programs you mentioned, work study and supplemental education opportunity grants and so forth, that would be a major step forward, and that would be more targeted to the problem that we have presented to you this morning. So I would commend Mr. Williams' leadership in doing that.

Thank you.

Chairman HAWKINS. Mr. Penny.

Mr. PENNY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would pose this question to any of the panelists who might want to respond, and that is to ask that you make an assessment of Head Start and its role in achieving some of the goals that your Commission has laid out.

Ms. HEIGHT. I find it hard to sing enough praises of Head Start, because the record shows that it has made a tremendous difference in both the educational achievements and the development and even has contributed towards a more healthy childhood for so many. I think that when we look and see that fewer than 20 percent of those eligible for Head Start are now participating, I think a lot of the things that we are talking about would go a long way in helping to solve them if we could really increase that.

I know that it is almost an impossible goal at one time, but just to use Head Start's record is to know that if we increase the number of children who have Head Start we increase the number of children who go on through school. That is very clear. They enter school with an attitude toward learning, but they also enter prepared to learn.

Mr. ATWELL. We might also say, sir, that the same kind of phenomenon of great success but a program underfunded and not serving nearly enough of the potential market is Upward Bound, which serves about 30,000 students a year and has had enormous success in terms of graduates, if you will, of that program being successful and going on to graduation and college. I think it is a real tragedy that that program has been so underfunded over these years because it really is very successful.

Mr. PENNY. I was interested in your response to the question about additional loan assistance for students and your insistence that the loan burden was a discouragement for low income students attending college.

If you operate on the assumption that once you have gone through college you have a much better opportunity for a better paying job, how do you reconcile the problem that we have here where they get discouraged about the loan burden on the front end

but on the tail end they might have a much better income to pay off that loan?

Mr. ATWELL. I think, first of all, it clearly is a deterrent. I think we know that. I think also that the idea that people ought to pay for the cost of their own education because they are the people who benefit totally denies the fact that it is society that benefits from their participation in education. It is our economy that benefits from a trained and educated citizenry, and it is our culture that benefits. That seems to me to be something we always have to bear in mind.

So I have to say that I am very concerned, sir, that we seem to be developing the attitude that it is the student that ought to pay for that education, and that, on the one hand, denies societal benefits and, on the other hand, does not address the question of parental responsibility in the case of the middle income people.

Mr. PENNY. We also have a problem with repayment on existing loans, and I think the statistic is a $1.5 billion expenditure in this fiscal year alone that is going to cover the past debt that could otherwise have been available to new incoming students. Your organization, I think, was supportive of the default legislation that we moved through the committee recently. Do you have any other suggestions as to how we can address that, given the fact that there are finite resources and we could better use that money instead of paying off defaults to funnel into new loans for incoming students?

Mr. ATWELL. I think the default legislation that the committee has put together is an important step forward, and I particularly mentioned the Pell grant entitlement. I think the Pell grant entitlement, combined with adequate funding of campus-based programs, would do a great deal to turn this around.

It must be said, however, that the default costs, the $1.5 billion and rising, do not reflect higher default rates, they simply reflect a higher volume of lending, and I think as long as we are using loans as a major part of student aid for particularly the very highest risk students that we are going to have fairly high default costs, because it just seems to me to be a bad idea, in principle, to give loans to people who are academically high risk until they have established themselves and it appears as though they will stay the course.

I think we have here a program never intended to be an access for high-risk students. It was a convenience program for parents as originally set forward. So it is serving a totally different purpose, and as long as it is serving that purpose in a major way you are going to have high costs.

So I think the committee's legislation, particularly the Pell grant entitlement part of it, would go some distance toward correcting that problem, and, yes, you are correct, the American Council on Education has supported that bill, as have most of the other major higher education associations.

Mr. PENNY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no further questions.

Chairman HAWKINS. Thank you.

It seems rather appropriate that the bells permitted us to finish the hearing this morning. Again, the Chair would like to congratulate the witnesses. I don't know what we can say other than we

have a very strong commitment to cooperate in every way. We appreciate the work of the Council, and we certainly appreciate the opportunity that you present to us. We will, obviously, work with you throughout your efforts to adopt these strategies.

Without objection, a statement by Mr. Richardson will be entered into the record at this point.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Bill Richardson follows:]

SEPTEMBER 13, 1988

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN BILL RICHARDSON

THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR'S OVERSIGHT HEARING ON

THE REPORT ENTITLED "ONE-THIRD OF A NATION"

ISSUED BY THE COMMISSION ON MINORITY PARTICIPATION

IN EDUCATION AND AMERICAN LIFE

MR. CHAIRMAN, I COMMEND YOU FOR CALLING THIS HEARING ON MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION AND THE AMERICAN DREAM. I ALSO CONGRATULATE THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, AND THE EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES FOR THEIR TIME, TREMENDOUS EFFORT, AND FORESIGHT IN FORMING THE COMMISSION ON MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION AND AMERICAN LIFE.

I HAVE LONG BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN EDUCATION. I HAVE BEEN ESPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION BECAUSE I BELIEVE IMPROVING THE MINORITY TEACHER RATIO WITHIN THE TEACHING PROFESSION IS FUNDAMENTAL TO IMPROVING THE OUTLOOK FOR MINORITY STUDENTS. IN MY VIEW, MINORITY TEACHERS ARE IN A UNIQUE POSITION TO IDENTIFY WITH THE SPECIAL CULTURAL, LANGUAGE, AND OTHER PROBLEMS FACING MINORITY STUDENTS. MORE IMPORTANTLY, MINORITY TEACHERS ACT AS ROLE MODELS, ENCOURAGING MINORITY STUDENTS TO GO ON TO MEANINGFUL CAREERS IN THE SCIENCES, HUMANITIES, GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS, AND VOCATIONAL FIELDS.

YOUR REPORT IS DISTURBING BECAUSE IT CONFIRMS MY OWN RESEARCH ON THIS TOPIC, AND MY WORST FEARS ABOUT THE STATE OF MINORITY PARTICIPATION AT ALL LEVELS OF OUR EDUCATIONAL PROCESS. FOR THE RECORD, I WOULD LIKE TO HIGHLIGHT SOME OF THE STATISTICS BROUGHT TO LIGHT BY THE COMMISSION. SPECIFICALLY, "FEWER THAN ONE IN FIVE" OF THOSE CHILDREN WHO ARE ELIGIBLE ARE ENROLLED IN

HEAD START, AND IT IS ESTIMATED THAT ONLY HALF OF THOSE WHO WOULD BENEFIT BY THE CHAPTER ONE COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAM ARE NOW BEING SERVED.

IN ADDITION, FOR THE PAST DECADE, WHITE ENROLLMENT IN COLLEGE HAS REMAINED STEADY AT A RATE OF APPROXIMATELY 53 TO 55%. AT THE SAME TIME, MINORITIES HAVE SUSTAINED CRITICAL LOSSES IN HIGHER EDUCATION: BETWEEN 1975 AND 1985, THE PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS ENROLLED IN COLLEGE DROPPED FROM 48% TO 44%. WHILE A SLIGHT INCREASE WAS REGISTERED IN 1986, FEW GAINS HAVE BEEN MADE IN BLACK COLLEGE ENROLLMENT SINCE 1970. HISPANIC ENROLLMENT HAS DROPPED FROM 51% TO 47%, AND AMERICAN INDIANS HAVE THE LOWEST COLLEGE ENROLLMENT AT 17%. YOUR REPORT ALSO CORROBORATES THE FACT THAT MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION HAS DECLINED DRAMATICALLY FROM 13.4% TO 8.7%.

THESE STATISTICS ARE DISHEARTENING ESPECIALLY GIVEN WELL-DOCUMENTED EVIDENCE THAT PRESCHOOL AND EARLY EDUCATION PROGRAMS IMPROVE ACHIEVEMENT AT LATER EDUCATION LEVELS, AND THAT HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE DEGREES INCREASE THE LIKLIHOOD OF SUCCESS AND INDEPENDENCE, THEREBY REDUCING SOCIAL WELFARE EXPENDITURES. WHILE THE REPORT, "ONE-THIRD OF A NATION" CONTAINS MUCH DISHEARTENING AND DISTURBING INFORMATION, I BELIEVE THAT ULTIMATELY THIS REPORT WILL GENERATE MUCH POSITIVE DISCUSSION, AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, THIS REPORT WILL SERVE AS A CATALYST FOR ACTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

IN CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION H.R. 4903, THE FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE AND WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT ACT WHICH AMONG OTHER THINGS ESTABLISHES A TRUST FUND TO PROVIDE: MINORITY TEACHER RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, AND RETRAINING; SCHOLARSHIPS IN AREAS OF NATIONAL NEED; AND TO PROVIDE GRANTS FOR

EFFECTIVE INSTRUCTION TO EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN. PORTIONS OF THIS LEGISLATION ARE THE OUTCOME OF MEETINGS HELD OVER THE PAST YEAR BETWEEN MY STAFF, MEMBER'S OF THE CHAIRMAN'S STAFF, THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION (AACTE), AND OTHER INTERESTED GROUPS. GIVEN THE DEMONSTRATED INTEREST OF THE COMMISSION ON MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION AND AMERICAN LIFE, I WOULD LIKE TO FORWARD COPIES OF THIS LEGISLATION TO YOU FOR COMMENT.

Chairman HAWKINS. May I also indicate to you that within a few days we will send you a copy of a new proposal that will be sent to the committee next year, beginning next year, the introduction of a bill. Currently, it is under the name of H.R. 4903, as designated, and this bill does two things. It initiates the idea of the creation of an education trust fund which may protect education from some of the budget cuts, and, secondly, it suggests a new source of funding for education purposes. In this particular instance, it would provide for the earmarking of a certain percentage of all Federal contracts to help disadvantaged students both at the elementary and secondary level, as well as post-secondary, and it would also provide incentives for minorities to enter the teaching profession.

So often we hear of ideas being launched but without indicating the source of the funding. In this particular instance, we do begin to suggest at least other sources of funding and the deposit of those funds in the trust fund so that they would be protected. We would like your comment on that proposal. We are not asking for an ironclad commitment at this point. It is a national discussion. We have already discussed it with corporate leaders from across the country, and we certainly would like your suggestions as to the improvement of the proposal.

Other than that, again, on behalf of the committee, we wish to thank you. It seems like this is the beginning of a permanent friendship. Thank you, and that ends the hearing.

[Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., the committee was adjourned.]

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